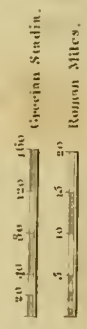




TROAS,
 With the adjacent Country
According to D'Anville.



THE HISTORY
OF
IL I U M OR T R O Y:

INCLUDING
THE ADJACENT COUNTRY,

AND
THE OPPOSITE COAST

OF THE CHERSONESUS OF THRACE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR AND GREECE."

A. C. ...
L O N D O N:

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SON, RED LION PASSAGE, FLEET STREET,
FOR JAMES ROESON, NEW BOND STREET.

1802.

TO THE READER.

THE following Work is founded on an extensive research into Antiquity concerning Troy, made, several years ago, in consequence of frequent conversations on the subject with Mr. WOOD, the celebrated Editor of the Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec; who honoured the Author with his friendship, and who procured for him an opportunity of visiting the Tröia, as a traveller, under the auspices of the Society of DILETTANTI.

On his return to OXFORD, where he enjoyed at MAGDALEN COLLEGE both access to Libraries and sufficient leisure, the Author endeavoured to obtain a more complete knowledge of the Country, and especially of the region of TROY, by a minute investigation of its History and Geography; and also of the connexion which has subsisted and is still evident, or of which traces are discoverable, between it and the Ilias.

The Author intended communicating the result of his Enquiries to Mr. WOOD, for his use in the *Comparative View of the ancient and present state of the TROAS*, which accompanies his Essay on Homer ; but was prevented by the unexpected death of that excellent person ; after which public as well as private loss, though he persevered in preparing his Trojan labours for the Press and advertised them, their appearance was suspended, and perhaps might have continued so, had not his attention to them been revived by a recent Controversy.

Finding the *Description of the Plain of TROY* by M. CHEVALIER, and several Publications which relate to it, unsatisfactory, the Writer has been induced to revise his own latent Work, to enlarge it, and to resolve on offering the whole to the judgement of the Learned and Curious, if the History now before them, a detached portion of it, meets with a favourable reception.

Tilehurst, Berks,

May 10, 1802.

PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF TROY.

- I. **DESCRIPTION** of the Plain of TROY: with a Map of that region, delineated from an Actual Survey. Read in French before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Feb. 21 and 28, and March 21, 1791. By the Author, M. CHEVALIER, Fellow of that Society, and of the Academies of Metz, Cassel and Rome.

Translated from the Original not yet published, and the Version accompanied with Notes and Illustrations by Andrew Dalzel, M. A. F.R.S. Edin. Professor of Greek and Principal Librarian in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1791.

This Translation was, with the Notes, translated into German under the inspection of M. HEYNE of Gottingen; and published, with a Preface, additional Notes, and a Dissertation written by M. HEYNE, at Leipsic, in 8vo.

- II. **TABLEAU** de la PLAINE de TROYE: Accompagné d'une CARTE levée géométriquement, en 1785 et 1786. Par M. Chevalier etc. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Vol. III. Edinburgh, 1794. Some Inscriptions only cited in the above translation are here engraved.

* * In the same work, Vol. I. Part II. p. 43. is a *Dissertation to prove that Troy was not taken by the Greeks*. By John Maclaurin, Esq. Advocate and F. R. S. Edinburgh. Read by the Author Feb. 16, 1784.

- III. **Observations** upon a Treatise, entitled A Description of the Plain of TROY, by Monsieur le Chevalier. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1795.

- IV. A Dissertation concerning the war of TROY, and the Expedition of the Grecians, as described by Homer; shewing, that no such Expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such City of Phrygia existed. By Jacob Bryant. No date. Published in 1796.
- V. A Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq. concerning his Dissertation on the War of TROY. By Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London, 1797.
- VI. Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad. By James Dallaway, M. B. F. S. A. late Chaplain and Physician of the British Embassy to the Porte. London, 1797.
- VII. M. Chevalier's TABLEAU de la PLAINE de TROYE, illustrated and confirmed, from the OBSERVATIONS of subsequent TRAVELLERS, and others. By Andrew Dalzel, M. A. F. R. S. Edin. Professor of Greek, and Secretary and Librarian in the University of Edinburgh. Read Sept. 4, 1797. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Vol. IV. Edinburgh, 1798.
- * * The Appendix, No. I, contains Extracts from Professor HEYNE's Preface to the German Translation of M. CHEVALIER's Treatise, No. II. Mr. HEYNE's Note, additional to Mr. DALZEL's on ACHILLES's Pursuit of Hector. II. XXII. 165. N. III. Essay on the Topography of the Iliad. By Professor HEYNE, of Gottingen, Aulic Counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, etc. N. B. *This Essay is a republication, with alterations, of a Paper entitled "De acie Homerica et de oppugnatione castrorum a Trojanis facta. Commentatio recitata a C. G. Heyne, d. XIII. Sept. 1783;" and printed in "Commentationes Soc. Regiæ Scientiarum Gottingensis, T. VI. ad ann. 1783 et 1784. Gottingæ, 1785."*

- VIII. A Vindication of Homer, and of the ancient Poets and Historians who have recorded the Siege and Fall of TROY. In answer to two late Publications of Mr. Bryant. With a Map and Plates. By I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. York, 1798.
- IX. Some Observations upon the Vindication of Homer, and of the ancient Poets and Historians, who have recorded the Siege and Fall of TROY. Written by I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1799.
- X. A Review of Mr. I. B. S. Morritt's Vindication of Homer. Published in the British Critick, Jan. 1st and March 1st; also printed separately; 1799.
- XI. An Expostulation addressed to the British Critick. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1799.
- XII. At New Strelitz, M. C. G. Lenz has published "The Plain of TROY, after Count Choiseul Gouffier and other Travellers; together with a Treatise of Major Muller, of Gottingen, etc. with Maps;" which confirms and farther illustrates M. Chevalier's Geography of the site of TROY. *New Annual Register for the Year 1799. Foreign Literature*, p. 291.
- XIII. Additional Remarks on the Topography of TROY, etc. as given by Homer, Strabo, and the ancient Geographers; in answer to Mr. Bryant's last Publications. By I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. London. 1800.
- XIV. Remarks and Observations on the Plain of TROY, made during an Excursion in June, 1799. By William Francklin, Captain in the service of the East India Company, and Author of a Tour to Persia, etc. London. 1800.

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10	24, dele l. 3.
13	<i>penult.</i> read ζ. 435.
34	18 — Πολιτειον
36	16 — Phryno
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58	18 — the people
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93	<i>penult.</i> — 600
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108	11 — Halicarnassus
128	2 — Dio
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146	20 — εμεμον
151	<i>ult.</i> — ΕΚΤΩΡ
154	<i>ult.</i> — l. ii. c. iii.—Dalzel
161	19 — cover for colour.— Leunclavius
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ILIUM OR TROY.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the work now submitted to the public, mention will frequently be made of an antient author and critic, who has been stiled by M. Chevalier, not more contemptuously and arrogantly than ignorantly, *one* Demetrius; and who has experienced nearly equal incivility from some of his followers. This person, a native of Scepsis, no mean city of Mount Ida, was contemporary with Crates and Aristarchus¹. He was rich and well born, or, in modern phrase, *a man of family*. He was a great philologist and grammarian; of high reputation for learning; and especially noted for his study of Homer, and his topographical commentaries on the Ilias. He was not a common obscure individual. He was indeed *one* Demetrius, but of a class very different from that to which M. Chevalier would reduce him. He was *one* of the twenty on record, who had conferred lustre on his name².

¹ Strabo, p. 609, 603.

² Diogenes Laertius, l. v. § 84.

Demetrius, in a volume entitled *The Array of the Trojan Army*¹, consisting of thirty books², discussed the extent of the kingdom of Priam, to which the Scepsian territory had belonged, and described the people and cities subject to him. My design lies in a much smaller compass; respecting chiefly the heart and vitals of his empire, the seat of government, and its vicinity; but, as this is intimately connected with the parts adjacent, will comprize a portion of the surrounding country.

Avoiding the question concerning the limits of the Tröia or 'Troas, about which authors have varied³, I shall follow the very ancient geographer Scylax of Caryanda, who makes it, as Strabo has observed⁴, commence at Abydos; and, in Asia, shall confine my researches to the district, of which the coast, beginning at the junction of the Propontis with the Hellespont, reaches to Cape Leetos; including the region of Mount Ida connected with it, serving as it were for a back-ground to the landscape as beheld from the sea; and also some places situate on the opposite side: in Europe, to the corresponding coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace, ending in the promontory where the Hellespont falls into the Ægæan. I shall not enter at present on the local detail, but, referring the reader to the annexed map of the country, proceed with its history.

¹ Τῶν Τροίαν; διοικησέμενος.

² Strabo, p. 609.

³ Strabo, p. 574.

⁴ p. 583.

CHAPTER I.

Of the early Inhabitants of the Tröia.

THE Samothracians, a people reputed not of alien extraction, but *Aborigines*, whose island, in Homer called Samos, is in view of the Tröia, related, that the Pontic Sea had been once a vast pool of standing water; which, swollen by rivers running into it, first overflowed to the Cyaneæ, two rocks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and afterwards, forcing a way and flooding the champaign country, formed the sea called the Hellespont¹.

The Tröia, if not occupied by an aboriginal race of men, like the Samothracian, connate and coëval with the soil, has been, in a remote age, without inhabitants. If it derived its population from the East, and more immediately from the region called afterwards *The Greater Phrygia*, which has been surmised, some tramontane adventurers may have looked down on it from the heights of Mount Ida, and beheld it a rude uncultivated desert. In the place of the Hellespont may then have been an inconsiderable stream, a marsh, or, perhaps, dry ground. If it was peopled before the inundation from the Pontus, those who escaped, when it happened, must, as in Samothrace, have fled for refuge to the mountains.

Plato has been cited², as having remarked, that, for some time after the early deluges, of which a memory was preserved by

¹ Diodorus Siculus, l. 5.

² Strabo, p. 592.

tradition in other places besides Samothrace, only the summits of the mountains were inhabited, the waters as yet spreading over the level ground ; that men descended first to the bottom of the hills ; then into the plains, where dry ; and thus, by degrees, reached the sea-shore and the islands ; and that improvement in disposition, manners, and mode of living, accompanied, in some measure, their changes of situation, until from wild, rustic, without laws, they became social, civilized, and well regulated.

The Samothracians also related, that Dardanus passed over from their island, his birth-place, in a boat, to the continent of Asia, and settled in the Tröia. Whether before his arrival in the country, then nameless, the tops of Ida were inhabited by a native race dwelling in caverns, without ploughing or sowing, in distinct families, governed each by its head, and without senate or laws, like the Cyclopes of Homer¹, who have been cited as an example to illustrate the Platonic doctrine of a progressive descent from the mountains, we are not told ; but we find, in the time of Dardanus, a community or society existing, for which he founded his city Dardania, when, according to Æneas, in Homer², the people still lived at the bottom of Mount Ida, and as yet there was no city, no Ilium, in the plain.

¹ Odyssey, i'. 109.

² Il. v'. 216.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Kings before Priam.

THE history of the Tröia, commeneing in the most remote antiquity, is in the earlier part, as might be expected, enwrapped in obscurity, and intermixed with fable.

Dardanus is mentioned by Homer as a son of Jupiter. The Samothracian Mysteries were said to have been introduced by him into the Tröia¹. He espoused, according to some writers, Batieia, called also Asia and Arisbe², daughter of Teueer, a descendant of the first King Cynthus, and son of Scamander and Ida. But Homer has taken no notice of this King Teueer, or of any dynasty before Dardanus.

Erichthonius, who succeeded his father Dardanus, was, we are told by Æneas, in the Ilias³, the richest of mortal men, and had three thousand horses, the mares, with colts or fillies, feeding in the *marsh*. This may be supposed a remain of the inundation or deluge.

Tros⁴, son of Erichthonius, and *King of the Trojans*, had three sons, Ilius his successor, Assaraeus, and Ganymedes, whose story is fabulous.

Ilius was the first who ventured to descend from Mount Ida, and to settle between it and the sea; not, it has been remarked⁵,

¹ See Strabo, Excerpta, l. 7, p. 331.

² v. 220.

³ Stephanus Byzant. in Αρισβη.

⁴ v. 230.

⁵ Strabo, p. 593.

with

with perfect confidence in this change of situation, since he cautiously founded Troy or Ilium (Homer uses both appellations), at a distance from the shore. Tantalus and his son Pelops, ancestors of Agamemnon, with whom the Grecian chronology of Homer commences¹, were driven by him out of Asia. His barrow is mentioned in the Ilias as remaining in the plain before the city.

Laomedon succeeded his father Ilus. In his time, Helle, flying, with her brother Phryxus, from Greece, is said to have fallen into the water between the Chersonesus of Thrace and Sigéum², which occasioned the changing of the name Pontus into Hellespontus, *the Sea of Helle*³.

It is an extraordinary tale which Neptune relates in the Ilias; that he and Apollo, coming from Jupiter, were hired for a year by Laomedon; and employed, he in building the city and wall, his fellow-servant as an herdsman on Mount Ida. I refer to the poem⁴ for the injustice and bad usage which they experienced; and in consequence of which the Tröia was afflicted with various calamities. Neptune, in particular, sent a monster, called Cetus, which, issuing from the sea and doing a great deal of mischief, occasioned the consulting of an Oracle. They were directed to offer a damsel to it; and Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, on whom the lot fell, was exposed, chained on the

¹ Mitford's History of Greece, v. I. p. 165.

² Apollodorus, by Gale, l. 1, p. 36.

³ Diodorus Siculus, l. 4, c. 3.

⁴ Il. ϕ . 444.

shore, near the mouth of the Hellespont, where, the Argonauts arriving most opportunely, her delivery was undertaken by Hercules. A high wall or rampart is mentioned in Homer¹, as having been thrown up by the Trojans and Minerva for him to fly to, if he should be pursued from the sea-shore toward the plain. He killed the Cetus with his arrows; and, on his return from Colchis, sent Iphicles and Telamon to demand the promised recompense, which was refused. He then, on account of the horses of Laomedon, as the poet relates, came against Ilium, and, with only six ships and an inferior force, laid the city waste, and made the streets desert². Laomedon, with three of his sons, perished in the contest, and Hesione was bestowed by the conqueror on Telamon.

CHAPTER III.

I. *Of King Priam.*—II. *Of Troy.*—III. *Of the dominions of Priam.*—IV. *Of the Tröia, in the time of Priam.*—V. *The rape of Helen.*

I. **PRIAM**, who succeeded his father Laomedon, had Jupiter for his ancestor in the sixth degree; and it has been observed, that Homer, who reckons time by genealogies, was unable to trace the pedigree of any other family beyond the fourth generation upwards; when, or before, his heroes “all end in a god, a

¹ v. 145.

² v. 640, 651.

river, or some unaccountable personage¹." He was a warrior, and joined the army of the Phrygians as an ally, when they were invaded by the Amazons². His queen, Hecuba, was a native of their country, daughter of Dymas³; not, as in Virgil, of Cisseus. He had fifty sons, nineteen by her, and the remainder by other women; for he had many⁴. He lived in a patriarchal stile, as well as age, surrounded by his family. His palace, which had a vestibule and portico, was, such as he needed, an ample edifice; furnishing apartments for all his sons, and for his twelve daughters, and their wives and husbands⁵. It was in the citadel, where also was the temple of Minerva, of which the priestess was Theano, wife of Antenor, who, and not Hecuba, was a Thracian, and daughter of Cisseus⁶.

II. Troy, the capital of Priam, an inconsiderable place, it should seem, when assailed by Hereules, recovered under him from the damage it had then sustained, and became famous for its riches; for plenty of brass and gold⁷. Homer has bestowed epithets of encomium on the buildings, and on the wall with which it was fortified. Its site was a rising ground in the plain, amid morasses, occasioned, if not by the deluge of Plato, by torrents descending from Mount Ida after showers, or the melting of snow on the summits; the rivers beneath being liable to overflow; and new land continually accruing from the mud and slime

¹ Mitford's History, v. l. p. 160, 165.

² Il. γ'. 184.

³ ξ'. 299. π'. 718.

⁴ φ'. 88. ω'. 495.

⁵ ζ'. 242.

⁶ ζ'. 296. λ'. 224. ι'. 70.

⁷ ι'. 402. σ'. 289.

mixed with their waters, when turbid. Two of these streams are of great renown. They were supposed to be presided over by the local deities whose names they bore; Simois, a son of Jupiter, and his brother, “whom the gods call Xanthus, but men Scamander,” says Homer¹, opposing, it has been surmised by a learned writer, the Greek appellation Xanthus to the Phrygian, or one in more common use taken from the dialect, whatever it had been before, of the country; an hypothesis which I shall not apply to other similar instances of double names occurring in the poet, as happily my subject does not require the discussion or solution of his enigmas. The prevailing, if not the sole, language of Troy was, as may be inferred from him, the same as in Greece. Hector and Achilles, not to cite more examples, understand each other in the Ilias; nor can it be supposed that Paris wooed Helen through the medium of an interpreter. The religion also was the same. Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Mars, and Vulcan, are mentioned, besides Minerva, as worshipped there; and these, with various other circumstances, concur in favour of an antient opinion, that remotely a connection had subsisted between the two people; which, indeed, might well have been, since their mutual distance was not more than a vessel could sail, with a fair wind, in a few days; for Achilles, in the Ilias, says, that he might arrive at Phthia, which was in Thessaly, on the third day after his departure from before Troy²; and Diomed, on his return home, after stopping at Tenedos and Lesbos, on the

¹ Il. v. 74.

² I. 563.

fourth day came to Argos¹. The Peloponnesian war will furnish an instance of a voyage from the Hellespont performed with yet greater expedition.

III. The dominions of Priam, who from little became great and a king of kings², comprised the whole of the country lying within the island of Lesbos, Phrygia, and the Hellespont³; and were divided into eight or nine dynasties⁴. Of the portion within our limits, the mountain-side and the tract beneath Ida, toward the sea, constituted Dardania⁵; in which was the city Dardanus or Dardania, possessed by the Dardani or Dardanii. Troy or Ilium belonged to the Troes or Trojans. The other places noticed in the Ilias are, in Asia, Abydos, Thynihra, Scepsis, and Tenedos; which island had been recently peopled by Tennes⁶, from whom it was named; the son, according to some, of Cygnus, a Thracian by descent, and King of Colonæ, on the opposite continent of Asia. The Thracians of the Chersonesus are distinguished by the poet as dwellers on the Hellespont⁷, and Sestos is joined with Abydos and Arisbe, which last, from an epithet⁸ bestowed on it, is supposed to have been the principal city of that jurisdiction⁹.

IV. The Tröia seems, in the time of Priam, to have been inhabited chiefly by villagers, who cultivated the soil; or by peasants, who were dispersed over the country, attending cattle

¹ Odyssey, γ'. l. 3.

² Strabo, p. 596, p. 574.

³ Il. ω'. 545.

⁴ Strabo, p. 582.

⁵ P. 585.

⁶ See the story of Tennes in Strabo and Pausanias.

⁷ P. 586.

⁸ δῖα, noble.

⁹ Strabo, p. 591.

in the plains and on Mount Ida. In Asia, as well as Greece, the sons of the most exalted personages were then commonly employed in keeping flocks and herds; which constituted a large portion of the opulence, if not the entire revenue, of their fathers. This had been the occupation of Anchises and Æneas. The mares of Priam fed in the pastures of Abydos, under the care of his son Democoon¹; and his oxen, to omit other instances, under that of Alexander or Paris, on Mount Ida.

V. If, according to old tradition², iron-ore was first discovered and manufactured by dwellers on Mount Ida, the Phœnicians, it is likely, frequented the Tröia, even before Priam, to traffic for the metal while it was rare. They are mentioned by Homer³ as resorting to the ports of Lemnos, with the pretious merchandise of Sidon. A large silver bowl belonging to Achilles, which the poet describes as of incomparable beauty, had been a present from some of them to the king of that island; and Queen Hecuba possessed store of robes embroidered by Sidonian women⁴, and procured for her by Alexander or Paris, her son; whose return from his voyage was made memorable by another article of importation which had better been omitted. This was Helen, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta; to recover whom and the treasures with which she had eloped was the object of the famous confederacy of Greeian princes under Agamemnon, brother of the injured husband.

¹ Il. v. 499.

² Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii. c. i.

³ Ψ. 745.

⁴ ζ. 290.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Siege and taking of Troy.

THE maritime expeditions and exploits of the Greeks had, excepting that of the Argonauts, been hitherto confined to the landing on some, not distant, territory, and the bringing back of corn, cattle, and other booty, with captives to be retained or sold as slaves. An union of their numerous petty states now enabled them to assemble a great naval armament. This, however, did not venture to cross the Ægæan, but advanced slowly, rowing or sailing by the continent of Europe, toward the Hellespont. It was even said that Agamemnon, on his arrival, after a tedious voyage, in Asia, had, from ignorance of the country, mistaken and laid waste Mysia for the Troas¹.

The possession of the sea-coast before Troy or Ilium was not obtained by the Greeks without opposition. Protesilaus, leader of the Thessalians, who, by much the foremost of the Achæans, leaped on shore from his vessel, was killed by a Dardanian². His funeral, about which Homer is silent, was solemnised, as other antient authors agree, on the opposite side of the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus of Thraee; where afterwards he attained to very great celebrity, and ranked high in the class of divinities stiled *The Heroes*.

¹ Strabo, p. 10, v. Comment.

² Il. β'. 702.

Troy was a fenced city, at a distance from the sea, by which the Greeks encamped. It was not invested by them, but, the communication inland continuing open, was supplied with corn, wine, and all other necessities from the adjacent country. Moreover, the Trojan Elders advised Priam to protract the war, and let the enemy waste away, until, baffled and weary, they should depart of their own accord. On the other hand, it had been foretold to the Greeks, that the Destinies, who were much employed about Troy, would not permit their taking of the city before the tenth year¹; and, respecting the prophesy, they lingered on in expectation of the fated era.

Homer has made us acquainted with some of the transactions, which happened during this interval. Agamemnon thrice assailed the city-wall with the flower of the army²; and Helen was employed in weaving a large web representing the many labours sustained by the Greeks and Trojans fighting on her account³. Achilles took and destroyed twelve cities with his ships, and eleven in the Tröia⁴. He pursued Æneas, coming on him unawares when alone with his oxen, across Mount Ida⁵. He killed, to omit his other exploits, many brave sons of Priam, or sold them for captives beyond sea, in distant islands, and in Samos, Imbros, and Lemnos⁶.

¹ β'. 329.² ξ'. 435.³ γ'. 127.⁴ ι'. 334.⁵ ν'. 91, 190.⁶ κ'. 44; ω'. 753.

The *Ilias* commenees soon after the expiration of the ninth year of the sojourn of the Greeks before the city¹, and in the twentieth from the arrival there of Helen², about the time when the accomplishment of the prophesy, big with the fate of Troy, was looked for by the invaders. Priam had prepared for his defence, and the auxiliary troops furnished by his allies were already come, or on the road, to join his army under Hector.

Achilles, having laid waste Lyrnessus and Thebe, two cities of the Ciliees, returned to the camp. In the division of the booty, Briseis, who had seen her husband slain by him before Lyrnessus, fell to his share; and to that of Agamemnon, Chryseis, daughter of the priest of Apollo of Chrysa³, whom he took at Thebe, where he slew Eëtion, one of their kings⁴ and father of Andromache, wife of Heector⁵. Chryses, father of Chryseis, followed and desired to redeem her; but Agamemnon refused to let her go with him. A malady which ensued and sorely afflicted the army was ascribed to the anger of Apollo. He was then prevailed on to restore the lady, and she was conducted back to Chrysa; but he required, as an indemnification, the surrender of Briseis by Achilles, whose wrath on the occasion is the subject of the *Ilias*.

Agamemnon, inspired with confidence by the prophesy that Troy would be taken in the tenth year, determined, though

¹ B'. 295.

² u'. 765.

³ B'. 690; r'. 296.]

Strabo, p. 585, 612.

⁵ Il. ζ. 416.

Achilles remained sullen at his quarters, to advance against the city. He was met by Hector; and, after a battle, it was deemed expedient to fortify the camp. Hector finally succeeded in his efforts to enter the intrenchment. He set fire to the ship in which Protesilaus had come. Achilles then sent his Myrmidons to repel the enemy. Patroclus, who commanded them, pursuing Hector, was killed by him before Troy. The next day, Hector was slain near the Scæan gate by Achilles. The *Ilias* finishes with the funeral of Patroclus and of Hector, whose body was redeemed by Priam.

Homer has not left us wholly uninformed of subsequent events; but he has only touched on some particulars, and many are entirely omitted; it not suiting with the design of either of his works to dwell on them more fully; to relate them by anticipation in the *Ilias*, or to insert them in episodes of the *Odyssey*. The remaining story or portions of it employed the genius of various poets after him; some of great antiquity¹; and of one, the author of *The Sequel of the Ilias*², yet extant in Greek, who seems to have compiled from all his predecessors, and whom, his name and age not being hitherto ascertained, I conjecture to have been Macer, the tutor of Ovid, and companion of his travels³.

¹ See Fabretti ad Tabellam Iliadis.

² See Bayle. *Calaber*.

³ Tu canis æterno quicquid restabat Homero,

Ne careant summa Trœica bella manu. Epist. ex Ponto, l. ii. x.

I shall relate very succinctly the principal incidents said to have followed the death of Hector.

The army of Priam again went forth to battle, having been joined by a troop of Amazons, who were all slain, Penthesilæa their leader by Achilles.

Memnon, King of the Æthiopians, is mentioned in the *Odyssey*¹. He was the reputed son of the goddess Aurora, by Tithonus, brother of Priam, to whose assistance he came. He slew Antiloehus, son of Nestor; and wounded Achilles, with whom he fought, in the arm, but was conquered by him. Achilles then eagerly pursued the enemy flying toward the city; was pierced with an arrow in his ankle by Paris and Apollo; and fell, as is foretold to him by Hector and Patroclus in the *Ilias*², near the Sæxan gate, under the wall of Troy. Aurora and Thetis have been represented mourning, each of them, like a mortal mother, for the loss of her son.

After the funeral of Achilles, which is described in the *Odyssey*³, games were celebrated by the barrow, and, at their conclusion, his armour was produced and placed in the circle; to be given to him who held the next rank in person and achievements. Ulysses obtained the prize; and Ajax Telamon, on his disappointment, was said to have put an end to his life with the sword presented to him by Hector after their single combat related in the *Ilias*.

¹ 8.² 2. 360; 2. 81.³ 2. 5. 549.

The successor of Achilles was his son Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, of whom mention is made in the Ilias and the Odyssey. Ulysses and Diomed were sent to bring him to the camp, from the island of Seyros. He slew Eurypylus son of Telephus King of Mysia, and a nephew of Priam, who had come with succours to Troy.

The same chieftains prevailed on Philoctetes, a leader skilled in archery, to return with them to the camp from the island of Lemnos; where, suffering from the poison of an aquatic viper, as Homer has related in the Ilias¹, he had been left by the Greeks, who, it is added, were soon about to think of him again. In a battle he wounded Paris with an arrow; and, he dying, the widow Helen presently became the wife of Deiphobus his brother; when Hælenus, another of the sons of Priam, leaving Troy in disgust, gave information to the Greeks that they could not take the city without having first conveyed away the Palladium or image of Minerva from the temple of the Goddess there. Ulysses and Diomed succeeded in this enterprize.

Ulysses afterwards devised the famous stratagem of the wooden horse, of which mention is made in the Odyssey; and was, with Diomed, among the adventurers in it. Agamemnon departed with the army to Tenedos. The Trojans conveyed the fatal machine into their city, being deceived by

¹ β'. 725.

the tale of Sinon; who, when all, wearied with festivity, were asleep, raised on high a flaming torch or fire-brand, the signal for the fleet to return. The concealed warriors, coming forth from their ambush, set fire to the city; and their countrymen on reaching the shore hastened to join them in completing its destruction by massacre and pillage.

The general consent of antient Greece testified, that the sacking of Troy happened a little before the Summer solstice, in the year which chronologers have found to coincide with 1184 before the Christian æra; and in the Attic month Thargelion. The day, which is not so well agreed on, was, according to some old authors and the Parian marble, the twenty-fourth. Scaliger makes it the twenty-second of June, as we reckon¹.

¹ De Emendat. temp. l. v.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Evidence and Credibility of the genuine Story.

THE Greeks were solicitous to render the memory of an achievement, which continued for many centuries the most remarkable of any in their history, perpetual. They represented the various incidents on their public monuments and edifices in marble, on their gems, and drinking-cups. It was the favourite subject of their poets, painters, and sculptors. Several of their antient temples were rich in spoils of Troy; and some exhibited, for ages, tools, which had been employed in the siege; weapons, and armour of the warriors, which had been suspended as votive offerings on the walls, or reposed in their treasuries; and the real or pretended relics of some of the chieftains, who had been present, were prized like those of modern saints; far-distant cities making a boast of having them in their possession.

The Ilias was generally received, both in Europe and Asia, as an indisputable record. Its testimony was confirmed by the annals and traditions of all the nations engaged in the war on either side; which jointly and separately demonstrated its main narrative not to be fiction or romance. Moreover, the posterities of several of the kings and princes mentioned by Homer remained, and were acknowledged as such for many successive generations. Another

Ilium arose in the Tröia, to preserve the name and memory of that which had been destroyed. The port principally used by the ships' under Agamemnon continued, after their departure, to be called that of *The Achæans*; and the stations of the vessels of Achilles and Ajax Telamon were pointed out for ages; besides barrows, ruined cities, and other remaining evidences of the transaction. The knowledge of the principal events of the war and of its consequences would have been propagated and transmitted down both in Asia and Europe, though not to the same extent or with equal celebrity, if the *Ilias* and *Odyssey* had never been composed.

Many Greeks and Trojans perished, fighting in the plain, in storming or defending the outwork of the camp or the city-wall. It was the usage of each people to consume the bodies with fire; but, while one heap of wood sufficed for the vulgar dead, and one pit received their ashes, a separate funeral, solemn and expensive ceremonies, a vast pile blazing across the Hellespont, and a barrow with a stela or stone-pillar on it, distinguished the fallen chief.

The Greeks celebrated the obsequies of their slain, after the establishment of their camp, apart from it; those of the leaders generally near their quarters or on the shore of the Hellespont. *There*, Nestor tells Telemachus in the *Odyssey*¹, lay Patroclus and Achilles, Ajax Telamon, and his own son Antilochus.

¹ γ'. 108.

There also lay other renowned warriors, whose monuments, though we find little or no notice taken of them in remaining authors, may have continued extant, and been distinguished in after ages by antiquaries and the people of the country.

The rites of the dead, as established by antient usage, inspired a reverence for places of sepulture, and prevented the memory of their owners, whose names were frequently inscribed on the pillars fixed in the ground over them, from falling suddenly into oblivion. Libations of milk, wine, honey, and the like, were poured on the sod or surface of the barrows; and other offerings were made, supposed to be grateful to the ghosts; which were believed to reside beneath, and to visit the altars placed near them. The heroes accounted Demigods had temples, at which victims were slain before their idols. We shall find several of the barrows denominated long after from the warriors whose relics they covered; and giving names to settlements made near them, and maintained in good measure by the resort of people attending the anniversaries and festivals held at them, or casually visiting them from curiosity or from devotion. That of Achilles and Patroclus was called from the former, as the more excellent and illustrious¹ of the two, Achilleion; that of Ajax, *Æantion*; and so on with others. Those of Protesilaus, Hector, and Memnon the rival of Achilles in posthumous fame and fable, were planted with trees to protect them from cattle and from the sun.

¹ Fabretti.

The divine honours of Achilles were said to have commenced, before the departure of the Greeks from the Hellespont, with the horrid sacrifice of Polyxena, a captive daughter of Priam. Pyrrhus, in the Sequel of the Ilias, declares, that he had seen his father in a vision, and that he required this offering. He is described as holding the victim with his left hand, placing his right on the barrow, and praying to Achilles, that the storm raised by him, to detain them until his Manes should be gratified, might cease. Pyrrhus afterwards settled a colony in Epirus, where a dynasty or series of kings were named from him Pyrrhidæ, and where Achilles was worshipped under the title of Aspetos, *The Inimitable* ¹.

The homage paid to Achilles and Patroelus, to Hector, to Ajax Telamon, Antilechus and Protesilaus, at their barrows, by the circumjacent people of the Tröia and Chersonesus, was, at what time soever it began, of long duration; and, as will appear in the sequel, transmitted down from age to age, until it was finally extinguished by the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire. A native or a traveller in these countries, before that period, seeing the barrows remaining, and still objects as well of public as private regard, would not have believed it possible that the time would come when the former existence of Troy and of the Heroes would be called in question.

¹ Plutarch in Pyrrhus.

Many additions were made in after ages to the Trojan story. Some were the inventions or embellishments of the poets, especially the tragic; some of artists, who employed their pencil or chissel on select portions of it; some were grafted on passages of the *Ilias*; and more were not only not countenanced or supported by, but irreconcilable with, Homer.

The legendary tales current, as well among the European as Asiatic Greeks, concerning the heroes, and, in particular, Achilles, to whom I shall confine myself, were almost innumerable. I dwell not on such fables as the immersion of her infant son by Thetis in the river Styx, and his consequent 'invulnerability except in the heel; his education, not according to the *Ilias*', under Phoenix, but Chiron, who is there only said to have given him some instructions in the art of surgery; his concealment among women and the detection of him by Ulysses, contrary to Homer²; his intended marriage with Polyxena, daughter of Priam; the meeting for its adjustment or celebration in the temple of Apollo at Thymbra; and his being treacherously slain there by Paris. Some of these are interpolations utterly undeserving of notice, had they not been occasionally adopted by writers; and in particular by M. Chevalier, in preference to the genuine story as delivered in Homer.

Achilles, Antilochus, and Ajax Telamon, are represented in two Episodes of the *Odyssey*³, as companions in the Asphodel-

¹ *Æ.* 837.

² *Æ.* 439.

³ *λ* and *μ.* 73.

meadow, the dwelling-place of the shades of defunct heroes, in the kingdom of Pluto. Agamemnon, who in the first of them, which was regarded as an interpolation by Aristarchus, addresses Achilles, might have added other topics of congratulation, had they been known to the author; such as the admission reserved for him among the Immortals, his marriage with Medea, (which is said to have been a fiction of the very antient poet Ibycus, who was followed in it by Simonides), and his having a sacred Island, of which tale the origin is given by Pausanias on the joint testimony of the people of Crotona in Italy and of Himera in Sicily¹.

The people of Crotona, says the relater, waging war with the Locri of Italy, their general², in an attack on the front line of the enemy, where he was told their patron-hero, Ajax Oileus, (his image, I apprehend), was posted, received a wound in the breast. The Delphic oracle directed him to repair to Leuce, an island in the Euxine sea, to be cured by Ajax. On his return, he declared that he had seen Achilles, who resided there with Helen, Patroclus, Antilochus, and the two Ajaxes; and a message from Helen, which he delivered to the poet Stesichorus of Himera, by whom some reflections had been cast on her, probably in his *Destruction of Troy*³, was, they said, the occasion of his writing a palinode or recantation.

¹ P. 102.² Leonymus.³ Ἰλίου Περσῆς.

This island of Achilles, which is mentioned by Euripides ¹ and by many other ancient authors ², was formed by mud from rivers; and perhaps has since been connected with the continent of Europe. But, whatever it may now be, for the spot has not been explored, it was originally small, and is described as desert and woody, as abounding in living creatures, and much frequented by aquatic birds, which were regarded as the ministers of the hero, fanning his grove with their wings, and refreshing the ground with drops, as it were of rain, from their bodies. He was said to be visited there by Protesilaus, and several of his friends, who had been likewise released from the regions of Pluto; to *appear* sometimes; and oftener to be heard, playing on his lyre and accompanying it with a voice divinely clear. A long and narrow peninsula in the same sea was called *The Course of Achilles* ³; being the place where he was reputed to take his exercise of running.

It does not often happen that ancient fiction can, as in this instance, be traced to its source; and scepticism or incredulity is frequently the result of difficulty in discriminating true history from its alloy. Mr. Bryant has contended, that the two poems of Homer are mere fables, and that no such war, no such place as Troy, has ever existed ⁴. Having made a large collection of idle and absurd stories from different authors ⁵ about Jupiter and

¹ Iphigenia in Tauris and Andromache.

² See Bayle. *Achilles*.

³ Achilleiós Dromos.

⁴ Dissert. p. 169. Obscrv. p. 49.

⁵ Dissert. p. 10.

Leda, and Helen (whom he will not allow to have been carried away from Sparta by Paris), and several other persons concerned, he declares¹, and nobody, I imagine, will dissent from a position of so great latitude, that “The account of the Trojan war, as delivered by Homer *and other Grecian writers*, is attended with so many instances of inconsistency and so many contradictions, that it is an insult to reason to afford it any credit.”

In the description, says the same learned person, of the siege of Troy and the great events with which it was accompanied, Homer “is very particular and precise. The situation of the city is pointed out as well as the camp of the Grecians,” and various objects, “with the course and fords of the river², are distinctly marked, so that the very landscape presents itself to the eye of the reader.—The poet also” mentions “several” subsequent “events—in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit—” all which “casual references seem to have been portions of a traditional history well known in the time of Homer, but as they are introduced almost undesignedly, they are generally attended with a great semblance of truth. For such incidental and partial intimations are seldom to be found in Romance and Fable.” Who, on reading these remarks, would suspect it to be the scope of the author, to prove the whole story of Troy as ideal as a fairy-tale?

I will not enter here on a particular examination of the arguments used by Mr. Bryant on this occasion. Some of them I

¹ P. 8.

² Scamander.

shall be obliged, though unwilling, to notice as we proceed. It may, however, be now mentioned, that among other novel opinions, for which I refer to his Dissertation, he maintains, that the ground-work of the *Ilias*, if it had any, was foreign to the country on which we are employed; that the history never related, but has been borrowed and transferred, to it; that in short, the original poem of Troy, the parent of the *Ilias*, was an Egyptian composition. I shall add a companion or two to this notable discovery. A disciple of Epicurus¹ undertook to prove the *Ilias* to be entirely an allegory; and I have somewhere read, that it was not first written in Greek, but is a translation from the Celtic language.

I subjoin the very different opinion of a respectable writer in the *Antient Universal History*² on the same subject. "The name of King Priam will ever be memorable on account of the war which happened in his reign; a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown concerned in it, the battles fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of the city, and the endless colonies planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors." "Truly, says my author, the siege and taking of Troy are transactions so well attested, and have left so remarkable an epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question."

¹ Metrodorus.

² V. II. p. 318.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the succession of Æneas and his posterity to the throne of Priam.

THE Greeian kings and princes had not any view to the acquisition of new territory in the war with Priam. When they had laid his dominions and capital waste, they set sail for their own country. Their domestic concerns had been deranged during their absence; and, on their arrival at their homes from their foreign, though not very distant, expedition, they were neither disposed, nor had leisure, nor ability, to regard, to oppose, or frustrate, any measures which might be taken to re-people or restore the cities of the Asiatic provinces, which they had pillaged and abandoned.

Many of the subjects of Priam had fallen in battle, or perished in the general massacre when his capital was taken; but those who survived, if they did not emigrate, returned to the full possession of their ravaged territory. The Troes and Dardani, though perhaps not considerable in number or power, still existed; and, it is likely, would unite under one head as before, and endeavour to re-establish social order, religion, and civil government.

Great

Great havoc had been made in the principal families of the Tröia during the war; and especially in that of Priam¹. When he redeemed the body of Hector only nine of his fifty sons remained; and only one, Helenus, who was led into captivity, survived him. Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus, who slew him at the sacking of the city, is said to have destroyed also Scamandrius or Astyanax the son of Hector, when his whole race, as is pretended to be foretold in the Ilias, became extinct in the Tröia.

Æneas and Antenor both derived their pedigree from Dardanus; but only the former in the male line. It is sufficiently clear, says Livy, that to them no injury was done, when Troy was taken; the Greeks sparing them from regard to the sacred tie of antient hospitality, and because they had been advisers of peace and of the restoration of Helen. Antenor was believed to have settled in Italy. Homer, and I seek no other authority, plainly signifies, that Æneas remained in the country, and succeeded to the sceptre of the Trojans²; which, when he wrote, had already been, or was likely to be, transmitted down to his posterity.

In the Ilias, to which I confine myself, Æneas is one of the many sons of the Immortals said to be fighting about Troy³. The Goddess Venus, his mother, bore him to Anchises among the hills of Mount Ida⁴. He is described as young and brave; but, on one occasion, when his presence was wanted in battle, as standing in the rear of the combatants, and not engaging, from

¹ ω. 252.

² Strabo, p. 607, 608.

³ π'. 449.

⁴ β'. 821.

disaffection to Priam, whose neglect had created in him deep resentment. He is a distinguished warrior, and one of those who are celebrated for superior strength. He throws a stone bigger, as the poet relates, than two men, such as his time produced, could carry ¹. Before his combat with Achilles, he tells him, that he was son of Anchises, the son of Capys, the son of Assaræus, and equally descended from Jupiter with Priam and Hector ². Neptune, seeing him in danger from his antagonist, calls on the Deities then present with him, to consider of his rescue, “for he was fated to escape; in order, that the line of Dardanus, whom Jupiter had loved beyond all his sons by mortal women, might not disappear from want of issue;” adding, “that Jupiter hated the race of Priam, and that Æneas would now govern the Trojans, and the sons of his sons after him ³.” The God, who conveys him away, on leaving him, bids him not to encounter Achilles any more, but to avoid meeting him; and, on his death, to fight boldly among the foremost; for of the Greeks, no one besides would kill him ⁴.

Homer in thus making Neptune declare the future fortune and elevation of Æneas must be considered as referring to what had actually happened, or, it might be fairly presumed, would happen; for can it be supposed that he would in this manner have introduced what did not accord with real history? Could it answer any purpose, if Æneas did not then govern, or had not

¹ v. 287.² v. 240.³ v. 308.⁴ v. 339.

reigned over, the Trojans; if these had no king, or one not of his line; or, if he, being yet alive but aged, was without progeny, and had no prospect of a son to inherit his dominions? No person would be gratified by the tale, and Neptune would be represented unnecessarily and wantonly a liar; as foretelling what not only had not, but never could, come to pass; contradicted by events of general notoriety, and, on the testimony of present appearanees, demonstratively convicted of gross falsity. Is it not far more likely that the poet did homage to an existing king of the Trojans; exalting his origin, extolling the hero of his family, and concurring with, if he did not rather endeavour to create and propagate, a popular belief of its having been raised by a divine decree to the vacant throne of Priam? It is no wonder if an adulatory prediction failed of accomplishment.

CHAPTER VII.

The Æolian colonists.

IF a monarchy was indeed established in the Tröia, after Priam, it did not prove such as the poet had presaged either in extent of territory or duration. For it appears that, whether Æneas and his posterity did or not reign there, and whether, if they did, Scepsis, as Demetrius believed¹, or some other place, was their capital, this and the adjacent countries laid open, at no

¹ Strabo, p. 607.

great distance of time from the destruction of Troy, an easy and tempting prey to adventurers. Barbarians, as well as Greeks, seized on them; and, by the confusion then introduced, were the occasion of many of the difficulties which writers, as Strabo observes¹, experienced in adjusting the antient topography. It seems, indeed, that, besides this, various parts of the earth were, after the Trojan war, thinly inhabited or desert; the reason why “settlements and even kingdoms were in those days,” as Mr. Bryant justly remarks, “very easily obtained².”

The Greeks, by their invasion of the dominions of Priam, had acquired a knowlege of the countries about the Hellespont. Of the Æolians two large bodies migrated on the return of the Heracleid family into the Peloponnesus; one under Penthilus, a son of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, sixty years says Strabo, eighty according to Thucydides, after the Trojan war, and, passing over from Thrace into Asia, took possession of Lesbos. The second proceeded to Cuma. From these, as it were Metropolitan, places, the Æolian cities of Asia, about thirty in number, were peopled. The Tröia was chiefly occupied by the Lesbians, some of whose settlements remained in the time of Strabo, but some had disappeared³. The Ionians, who colonised Asia Minor, did not leave Greece until four generations after the Æolians⁴.

¹ P. 573, 586.

² Dissert. p. 61.

³ Strabo, p. 599.

⁴ Strabo, p. 582.

The memory of the principal occurrences of the siege of Troy, though not quite recent, must have been far from extinct when the Æolians arrived in the Tröia or the vicinity. Whether the Trojans continued a people, and whether the city was deserted or not, some persons, who had been present in the war, might be still living; and both the region and the desolated country around it must have furnished indubitable marks of that renowned transaction.

Of the time when the distinct colonies left the island of Lesbos to settle in the Tröia, we are not informed, except in a few instances, which will be mentioned; but they appear, and it is remarkable, not to have attempted any innovation where they came. They seem rather to have incorporated and formed one people with the old inhabitants; instead of destroying, or driving them out, or forcing them to take refuge in the mountains. At Tenedos, for example, Tennes, the founder of the city, who is said to have been slain by Achilles in its defence, was, in after ages, revered alike by the natives and the descendants of the Æolians; and Apollo Smintheus had a temple¹, and continued to be the tutelary god, as he is represented in the *Ilias*. A final period, it has been supposed, was put to the unfortunate city of Troy, and to the name of its people, by these colonists²; but we shall find, as we proceed, an Ilium still existing, and its possessors claiming to be acknowledged as true Trojans.

¹ Strabo, p. 604.

² Mitford's *History of Greece*, vol. I. p. 248.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Tröia invaded by the Ionians and Lydians.

WHEN history becomes less general in the notice which it takes of the Tröia, we read of a city near the river Simois called Polium¹, a place not strongly situated, and which was captured without difficulty, and destroyed by a body of Ionians flying from the dominion of the Lydians in Asia Minor; when the inhabitants, who were indigenous, migrated to Italy, where they founded the city Siris². This people in after ages appealed to the Minerva Ilias, which had been set up there, as an evidence of their being a colony of Trojans; and fabled of it, that it had shut its eyes, when the suppliants were dragged away from it by the Ionians, and was shown still shutting them. “Thus to fable of it, says Strabo³, as not only seen to have shut them (as that in Ilium to have turned them aside when Cassandra was violated in its presenee by Ajax Oïleus), but, moreover, as now shown shutting them, is bold; and much bolder is it *to fable* of the images, as many as it is related have been conveyed out of Ilium, that

¹ Strabo, p. 601. 263. See Comment. p. 123, and Stephens's Thesaurus in Πολίειον, where the place is supposed to have been so called from a temple of Minerva Polias, and where the learned reader may find, what he very rarely can do, a mistake in that most admirable work; it being mentioned as a city in Italy, first named Siris.

² See Bayle in *Siris*.

³ P. 264.

they do the like; for at Rome also, at Lavinium, and Luceria, besides Siris, Minerva Ilias is so called as having been transported from thence."

The Ionians of the Tröia, being invaded by the Lydians, also abandoned the country; the whole of which was afterwards under Gyges, who compelled the Greek cities of Asia, until then free, to pay tribute¹. A colony from Miletus settled with his permission at Abydos, which city and its vicinity had been occupied, after the destruction of Troy, by the Thracians. Sestos was an Æolic city.

CHAPTER IX.

The war between the Athenians and Æolians about Sigæum and Achilléum.

WE come now to the luminous epoch when the Chersonesus of Thrace belonged to the Athenians; who established in it a colony under Miltiades son of Cypselus², an Athenian, and a contemporary of Pisistratus; and from it disturbed the quiet of their Æolian neighbours on the opposite side of the Hellespont.

The Lesbians claimed nearly the whole of the Troas as their heritage³; having, it may be presumed, enjoyed, for a considerable time, the transmissive possession of it without competitors.

¹ Strabo, p. 590, 554, 591.

² Strabo, p. 595, 600.

³ P. 599.

The Athenians produced arguments showing that the Æolians had no more right in the Iliéan country than they, or any of the Greeks who had assisted Menelaus after the rape of Helen¹. They crossed over from Eleûs, a city which they had founded on the point of the European coast of the Hellespont next the Ægæan sea, and seized on Sigéum. This city, of which the walls were said to have been built with stones taken from the ruins of Troy by Archæanax of Mitylene, and of which the mention first made is by Herodotus, who stiles it *The Trojan Sigéum*, and *Sigéum by the Scamander*, stood on the promontory of that name, on the Asian side of the same sea at the entrance, in or near the Achilléan region or that about the barrow of Achilles; which was the occasion or pretext of the quarrel. The Mitylenéans, to whom the territory belonged, sent a fleet to regain Sigéum; and Pittacus, afterwards elected their tyrant, one of the seven celebrated sages of Greece, had no ordinary antagonist in Phryno the Athenian general, a conqueror in the Olympic Games, who challenged him to single combat; but, proving victorious, the place was recovered².

This war was of considerable duration; one people persisting in their demand, the other refusing to give up the Achilléan country and the place which is termed by Herodotus the Achilléan city. This was holden some time by the Mitylenéans, as a fortress to annoy Sigéum; when the garrisons had frequent en-

¹ Herodotus, l. v. c. 94.

² Strabo, p. 599.

counters; and, among a variety of incidents, one was the escape of the poet Alcæus, without spear or shield; the subject of an ode addressed by him to a friend at Mitylene. His arms, found on the field of battle, were suspended as a trophy by the Athenians against the Athenæum or temple of Minerva at Sigéum¹. The contest was terminated for a while by Periander, son of Cypselus tyrant of Corinth, who awarded, as arbitrator, that each people should retain what they possessed.

Timæus² related, that Periander, assisting those with Pittacus, had walled about Achilléum with stones from the remains of Ilium; but Demetrius affirmed it was false, that this place was walled about for Sigéum by the Mitylenéans, not indeed with those stones, nor by Periander; for how could a party in the war have been chosen for an umpire³?

The Mitylenéans recovered Sigéum. It was retaken by Pisis-tratus, tyrant of Athens. His son Hegesistratus, whom he appointed tyrant there, held, not without fighting, what he received of him. Hippias, also his son, retired with his adherents, when exiled from Attica, to the same place; and it was there, on his second arrival⁴, that he formed plans for the getting of Athens into his own possession and that of King Darius.

Æschylus has had a retrospect to the above transaction in his tragedy called *The Furies*. He introduces Minerva as appearing to

¹ Herodotus, Diogenes Laertius, l. 1, 74.

² Surnamed Epitimetes, *The Detractor*.

³ Strabo, p. 600.

⁴ Herodotus, l. v. c. 91. 94, 96.

Orestes at Athens, and saying, that she was just come from the Scamander ; from taking possession of the land, which the Grecian leaders and chiefs had indeed offered to her entirely of their own accord ; a large portion of their conquests, a select gift to the parents of Theseus," meaning the Athenians ; who had been commanded by an oracle to honour him as an hero, and to bring home his relics from Scyros, which, to the great joy of the people, was accomplished, eight hundred years after he left the city, and in the time of our poet, by Cimon son of Miltiades¹. They may be supposed to have founded their prior title to the disputed district of the Tröia on this pretended donation to their goddess.

The signification of the name Sigéum appears in an anecdote of an Athenian lady celebrated for her wit, not her virtue. Wearied by the loquacity of a visitor, she enquired of him, " whether he did not come from the Hellespont ?" On his answering in the affirmative, she asked him, " how it had happened, that he was so little acquainted with the first of the places there ?" On his demanding " which of them ?" she pointedly replied " Sigéum ;" thus indirectly bidding him to be *silent*².

¹ Plutarch in *Cimon*.

² Diogenes Laertius, l. 1, 74.

CHAPTER X.

Of the age of Homer.

IT is remarkable that Homer, though he has taken notice of two capes or promontories forming a bay before Troy, and had frequent opportunities, has yet never mentioned either of them by name. The reason might be, if they had then appellations *in the language of gods or men*, that these were not reconcilable, as in some other instances, to the measure of Greek heroic verse. They seem to have been called, not perhaps until long after him, the one, Rhœtéum, because the current of the Hellespont made a rippling noise about the cape in entering the bay; the other, Sigéum, from its passing out in *silence*.

Homer, according to some, was of the country ¹, and lived at or about the time of the siege of Troy. We have his own authority for saying, that he was not present when the two armies, after the secession of Achilles, were arrayed for battle; but he might be-contemporary with the transaction though not on the spot. He mentions *The Public Cisterns* near the city, where the Trojan females had been accustomed to wash their linen before the arrival of the Greeks, as still remaining. A tale is related ² of

¹ See Suidas, in v. Ῥωμη, p. 573. Stephan. Byzant. in v. Κερχηραι.

² Hermias on the Phædon of Plato, cited by Leo Allatius. See Bayle *in Homer*.

him, not the only one of the sort which we shall have occasion to notice, that, keeping some sheep by the barrow of Achilles, he prevailed on him by supplication and offerings to *appear*; when the insufferable glory which surrounded the hero deprived him of his eye-sight. If I have reasoned rightly in a preceding chapter concerning Æneas, he flourished during the monarchy which succeeded to that of Priam, and which, if it did not expire before, was subverted or greatly curtailed after the arrival of the Æolians at Lesbos and Cuma.

The predictions, if they may be so termed, of the future kingdom of the Æneadæ, of the demolition of the Greek entrenchment, and of the death of Achilles, in the *Ilias*, must be regarded as of a date posterior to their accomplishment. It was easy for Homer to have, in like manner, recorded by anticipation the coming of the Æolian colonists, if it had happened before his time; and as he is silent respecting it, and any later occurrences or transactions, while he holds forth an increasing kingdom in the Tröia, recumbent on the house of Æneas, it may be inferred, that those spreading, though not hostile, aliens had then either not left their homes, or not reached this country.

We have here a strong argument from the Asian continent in favour of the opinion that Homer was prior as well to the return of the Heraclids into the Peloponnesus to which he has not even alluded, as to the Æolie migration, which was a consequence of it; since a son of Æneas ruling in the Tröia will co-incide as con-
temporary

temporary with Orestes son of Agamemnon ; with whom yet reigning at Argos the Grecian history of Homer in the *Odyssey* ends ¹.

The poems of Homer are said to have been first introduced into Greece from Ionia by the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus ; but it was Pisistratus, or rather his son Hipparchus², who was believed to have arranged the separate Cantos ; and, by digesting and uniting them, to have compiled the *Ilias* and the *Odyssey*. The residence of the latter at Sigéum was likely to produce a knowledge of these compositions ; or, if he had previous acquaintance, an intimacy with them ; but who will say how long they had been extant and popular in Asia Minor before Lycurgus and Pisistratus ?

In the Tröia, some of the places which had been desolated by the Greeks, afterwards revived ; or were removed, either through the superstition of the people or for greater convenience, to other situations, mostly near the sea. Besides those already mentioned, some will occur within our limits, of more recent foundation ; and some, which might be extant in the time of Homer, though unnoticed by him ; and which, from circumstances attending or connected with their remote origin, afforded antiquaries matter of disquisition. The changes undergone by the country, and the new distribution of territory, which succeeded the war, could not be suddenly completed ; and in certain cases, as in the instance of the Trojans of Polium, their commencement did not

¹ Mitford's *History of Greece*, v. II. 167, 172.

² *Ælian*, l. 8, l. 13. c. 4. *Plutarch*.

admit of being long delayed. But it does not appear that Homer had any knowlege of Polium, of the cities which were erected on the Rhœtëan and Sigëan promontories, of the settlements by Æantëon or Achillëon, or of Eleûs; and his silence respecting these and other very antient places may be considered as an additional argument against the late age assigned to him by some writers.

CHAPTER XI.

I. *Occurrences under Darius.*—II. *Of a people called Teuceri.*

I. **IT** is remarkable, that the Persians, laying claim to all Asia, alleged, we are told, as the occasion of their enmity to the Greeks, the hostile invasion of Priam and the destruction of Troy by Agamemnon. Cyrus, who overcame Cræsus king of Lydia, by whom the Æolians had been subdued, first obtained possession of the Tröia¹. Darius ordered the cities on the coast of the Hellespont, and among them Abydos, to be burned, to prevent their furnishing vessels for an embarkation of the Seythians, who prepared, after having driven him out of Europe, to invade his dominions in Asia². The Ionians revolting, their fleet sailed up the Hellespont, and seized on all the maritime cities there; but Daurises his son-in-law retook five of them in as many days, of

¹ Herodotus, lib. I.

² Strabo, p. 591.

which

which number were Abydos and Dardanus; the latter not the original city of the people called Dardani, which disappeared on the destruction of Troy, but a place on the coast, and of more recent foundation. Another of his Generals subdued as many of the Æolians as inhabited the Ilias or country of Ilium; and Gergithes¹ a city now first mentioned; and the remains of the antient Teueri. Tenedos and the islands surrendered to the Persian fleet².

II. Darius removed into Asia from Thraee a people called Pæones, which were, by their own account, a colony of the Trojan Teueri. These are twice coupled by Herodotus with the Gergithans, at or near whose city they had then their dwelling-place, if they were not rather the same people. They are principally known to us from Virgil. I shall not enter on an enquiry into their remoter origin; but they were first introduced into the Tröia as wandering adventurers from Crete, by an elegiac poet more antient than Archilochus, named Callinus. He related, and he had many followers, that an oracle had directed them to remain where the offspring of the earth should assail them; that this happened by Hamaxitus; where a multitude of field-mice, creeping forth at night, gnawed as many of their bucklers and utensils as were made of leather; that they tarried there, and that Mount Ida was called by them after the Cretan mountain. But others said, that no Teueri had come from Crete; that one

¹ See Strabo, p. 589, and Comment.

² Herodotus, l. v. vi.

Teucer had arrived there from Attica, from the borough of the Tröi afterwards named Xypeteon; and urged as a mark of the connection of the Trojans with the people of Attica, that both had an Erichthonius for one of their early leaders'. No mention is made of any Teueri by Homer, and his Teucer is a bastard brother of Ajax Telamon².

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPEDITION OF XERXES.

- I. *Of his bridge over the Hellespont and canal behind Mount Athos.*
 —II. *Of his arrival in the country of Ilium.*—III. *His departure, and passage into Europe.*—IV. *Remarks on Herodotus.*
 V. *Protesilaus mal-treated by Artäyctes.*—VI. *The battle of Salamis.*—VII. *Sestos taken, and Artäyctes punished.*

I. **W**HEN Xerxes, son of Darius, resolved to invade Greece, the cities of the Hellespont had their allotment of vessels to be furnished for the expedition. A bridge of boats was begun across the Strait of Abydos, to secure an easy and pleasant passage for the great king into Europe; was demolished by a storm; and finally completed with twelve hundred boats disposed in two rows; one to resist the strong current from the Propontis, the other to

¹ Strabo, p. 604, 648.

² Il. 9: 284.

protect that against the violence of winds blowing from the Ægæan sea. At the same time a canal, about twelve stadia long¹, and broad enough to admit two galleys abreast, was carried on behind Mount Athos; that his fleet might avoid the difficulty and danger which experience had shown was to be apprehended in doubling the promontory: men being sent from Eleûs, where the Persian triremes were stationed, to dig, in companies, which were relieved in turn, and assisted by the people living round about the mountain. The manner in which these two great works were conducted and accomplished is minutely described by a contemporary historian²; and I know not on what evidence the reality of any fact which has happened at a remote period can be established, if we allow, what I have somewhere read, that neither of them has had other existence than in imagination. The fosse then made remained for ages; and traces of it must still be visible, where I do not remember that any traveller has looked for it, on the isthmus by which the mountain is joined to the continent. This achievement of Xerxes has owed its celebrity in great measure to the novelty of the design. His canal was an undertaking as inferior to some of his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater in magnitude as in utility.

II. The Persian host, which leaving Sardes early in the spring had marched toward the Hellespont, was terrified, we are told by Herodotus³, with portents and bad omens on its entering.

¹ A mile and a half.

² Herodotus, l. 7.

³ l. 7.

the Iliéan territory on the side next Antandros. During the night, as they remained beneath Mount Ida, a considerable number of them perished by thunder and lightning; and, on their coming to the Scamander, this river failed, the first since their setting out, in its current; not furnishing a sufficiency of water for their use; incidents, which, however then interpreted, contain no real matter of wonder. The one might be expected from the slender stream of an occasional torrent; and the other was the result of phænomena common to the climate, and frequent among the mountains, though not always attended with danger. On their arrival at the Scamander, Xerxes went up to the *Pergamum of Priam*, having a desire to see it; and, after viewing it and hearing all that was related concerning it, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Iliéan Minerva, whose priests, it is likely, served him as guides, and practised on his credulity and superstition.

III. Stories of spirits and apparitions were not less common in ancient, than in modern times; and perhaps were more generally received without scepticism. Barrows, and graves, and sepulchres were seldom approached with indifference. The heroes, in particular, were accounted irascible, and dangerous, and ready to do harm rather than good. The vicinity of the Pergamum of Priam was a region of terror; and, if Xerxes tried to render the Iliéan Minerva propitious, the Magi were not less solicitous to promote benignity among the Heroes; but their libations were not productive of any good effect; for, when they had finished, fear, while it was night, fell on the camp. Mount Ida and the Scamander had
already

already been adverse to the Persians ; and, a panic seizing them, at day-break they suddenly departed thence, keeping on their left Rhœtœum the city and Ophryneum (of which places this is the first mention) and Dardanus, “ which now, says the historian, is bordering on Abydos ;” and on their right, Gergithes and the Teucri, a circumstance which may help to point out the situation of this place and people in the Tröia. A prominent seat of white stone had been provided at Abydos on a hill fit for the purpose, and looking down from thence, Xerxes beheld his vast army and navy ; all the shores, and the plains of the Abydenes full of his men, and the whole Hellespont covered with his vessels. For his passing into Europe the causey on the bridge of boats was strewed with myrtle, and the air scented with perfumes. He poured a libation on the water, and, having invoked the rising Sun, threw the golden cup or goblet into the sea. The mighty host continued crossing seven days and nights without intermission ¹.

IV. A traveller as well as an historian, Herodotus was acquainted with the Tröia. He has observed that a certain plain in Egypt, skirted by mountains, appeared to him to have been formerly an inlet of the sea, as did also other plains, *those about Ilium* and Teuthrania (a region by the river Cæicus ², of which I have not met with any modern account) *those about Ephesus*, and the plain of the Mæander ³. He could have told us what

¹ Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus.

² Strabo.

³ L. ii. c. 10. See Pliny, Nat. Hist. II. 85.

the condition of the Trojan country then was, what it possessed worthy of curiosity, or likely, besides its antient renown, to excite the reverence of the great king; and more especially is it to be wished, that he had given particular information, instead of leaving us in uncertainty, about his Ilium and Pergamum of Priam. But to return to our subject.

V. When Xerxes arrived at Sestos Artäyctes was the Persian governor of that district; in which was the city Eleûs, and near it Protesilëon or the barrow of its patrôn-hero Protesilaus, with his shrine and temple, which was rich in phials of gold and silver, in brass, raiment, and other offerings of great value; as also his sacred portion, or the land allotted to him for its support. “Knowing, says Herodotus, that the Persians esteem all Asia to belong to them and to him that reigneth for ever,” he said to the king, “Lord, there is here the house of a Greek, who was killed, meeting with justice, in invading your country. Give it to me, that no one may in future dare to follow his example.” The monarch assented. Artäyctes stripped and insulted Protesilaus, caused all his pretious effects to be removed to Sestos, his sacred portion to be sown and fed; and, going in person to Eleûs, defiled the sanctuary of the temple with women¹. Whether he cut down the trees, or whether any were then standing, on the barrow, we are not informed; but there in after times was a grove of great antiquity, composed of elms, which have been celebrated

by poets, and noticed by writers, of different and distant ages; it being affirmed and believed, that when they had grown up into view of Ilium, which was opposite on the other side of the Hellespont, they withered at the top; and, shooting out again, increased and decayed, and thus continually perished and were renewed; furnishing the ignorant and credulous with matter of wonder. Several authors, seeming to discover in them an apparent aversion to Ilium, and connecting it with the story of Prote-silaus, have given an ingenious interpretation of phænomena, which were mere accidents of vegetation, occurring regularly, and occasioned by the nature or depth of the soil, or by the aspect, not as open to Ilium, but to the sun, the sea, and the wind. But to return again to our subject.

VI. The *Æacidæ*, or descendants of *Æacus*, now ranked among the most renowned Dæmons and Demigods of Greece. A fleet, to oppose that of Xerxes, was assembled under Themistocles at Salamis, the island of which Ajax Telamon, who had led its forces against Troy, was the patron-hero. All the Greek nation invoked him, and their commander sent a vessel to bring the whole family (their images, I apprehend,) from *Ægina*, where *Æacus* had reigned, to join the confederacy. Ajax, and Achilles, and other of their defunct warriors were believed to have been present in the famous battle, which followed, and to have contributed in no small degree to the signal victory of that memorable day. A Phœnician trireme galley, one of the articles first selected from among the spoils for offerings of gratitude to the

Gods, was dedicated to Ajax in Salamis, where he had a temple. Miltiades, who commanded the Athenian army at Marathon, was descended from him ¹.

VII. The Greek fleet arriving in the Hellespont, not in time to intercept the retreat of Xerxes and after the removal of the bridge of boats, the people of the Chersonesus crowded into Sestos, as the strongest of the fortresses there. The Athenians, who then occupied Abydos, laid siege to the place; in which, as it was filled with the Æolian inhabitants and the garrison, a famine ensued. The Persians endeavoured to escape by night over the wall. At day-break, it was signified to the Athenians from the towers, that the posts were abandoned; and some of them entered the gates, which were opened, while others pursued the flying enemy. The Persian governor was among the prisoners brought back bound to Sestos. I omit the tale of a salted fish leaping on some coals of fire, like one just taken alive, and his interpretation of the prodigy, as an invention of the people of the Chersonesus by whom it was related. That he made an offer of an hundred talents as an atonement to Protesilaus, and of double the sum to the Athenians, if they would spare his life and that of his son, is more credible; as also, that it was not accepted; the citizens of Eleûs requiring that the hero should be avenged. Artâyctes was led forth to the sea-shore where Xerxes had joined Europe to Asia; or, as some said, to the hill above Madytos (a city near Sestos of which the most early mention is in Herodotus); and, a stake

¹ Herodotus l. viii. Pausanias.

being fixed in the ground, he was suspended alive ; while his son was stoned to death before his eyes. The misfortunes of this man were imputed to his impiety, and he was believed to have suffered from the anger of Protesilaus ¹. And now farewell Herodotus ² ! We must seek information from other sources, and shall find little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

CHAPTER XIII.

TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. *Of Pausanias and Themistocles.*—II. *Of Ilium.*—III. *Notice to the Reader.*

I. PAUSANIAS, the Spartan regent and general, was accused of a treasonable conspiracy against the liberties of Greece in conjunction with Themistocles its late defender, who was banished from Athens. At Colonæ in the Troas, first mentioned by Thucydides ³, he received and obeyed an order from the government of Lacedæmon to accompany the messenger, an herald ; who conducted him back to prison. Themistocles afterwards took refuge in the court of Persia, where Artaxerxes bestowed on him, according to some authors ⁴, Palæseepsis or Old Seepsis (which was

¹ Herodotus l. vii. l. ix. Pausanias.

² *Ναυτικῶν*. See Mr. Bryant.

³ L. I.

⁴ Plutarch, in his Life.

among the places remaining under the Persian dominion) to provide him with clothes and bedding. This was the Homeric city, so called to distinguish it from New Scepsis, the birth-place of other great men and of the Demetrius¹ whose curious researches give him a just title to be mentioned always with respect.

II. We have other evidence, besides that of Herodotus, to prove the existence of an Ilium at the time of the Persian expedition; the testimony of an historian his contemporary, Hellanicus of Lesbos, quoted by Strabo². We shall find, as we proceed, that the tutelary Goddess of this Ilium, as of the Homeric, was Minerva; and that the people believed their image of her to have been the Palladium of Troy. Their patron-hero was Hector; of whom, as of many other famous men, a likeness had been furnished or rather feigned by the painters and sculptors of antiquity. His comeliness is extolled by Homer³; and Plutarch⁴ has cited an author⁵, who related that a young Lacedæmonian, being reported to resemble him, was trampled under foot by the multitude running, as soon as they knew it, to behold him.

III. This Ilium, rising gradually out of obscurity, appears at first as it were dimly; in company with other places of the Tröia, from which it cannot easily be detached so as to be treated of separately. The reader is therefore requested to notice the mention of it, when it occurs, particularly in the succinct narrative, which will follow, of events in the Peloponnesian war connected

¹ Strabo p. 607.

² P. 601.

³ Il. x. 370.

⁴ In the Life of Aratus.

⁵ Myrsilus. He is cited by Strabo.

with the country, which is our subject. And here I advertise him, that though Homer uses the appellation Ilium or Troy indifferently to denote the same place, I shall, to avoid repetition or confusion, when the latter name occurs, mean by it the city of the Ilias; and when the former, this which succeeded it; of which the people were called by the Greeks *Iliéis*, Iliéans, (a name, as Eustathius[†] has remarked, not found in Homer, who has instead of it, Troes, *Trojans*); and by the Romans, Ilienses, *Iliensians*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

- I. *Abydos and Sestos strong-holds of the contending parties.*—
 II. *The Peloponnesian fleet at Eleús.*—III. *Sea-fight by Cynossema.*—IV. *Action near Dardanus, battle of Abydos, and destruction of the Peloponnesian fleet.*—V. *Destruction of the Athenian fleet and end of the war.*

I. **A**T the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, all the cities of the Hellespont and Chersonesus were among the tributary subjects of the Athenian republic; but Abydos, being a colony of the Milesians, who were then under the Persians, allies of the Lacedæmonians, revolted on the approach of Dercyllidas, a

[†] Il. β'.

Spartan, who was sent to form a treaty with Pharnabazus, the Persian Satrap of the adjoining provinces. The Peloponnesian fleet had its station there; while the Athenians, unable to reduce the city, held Sestos for their garrison, and the safe-guard of the Strait.

II. Of the hostile fleets, two lay at the island of Lesbos; of which the people, from the consideration of their Æolian extraction, sided with the Lacedæmonian alliance, except the city of Methymna; which, with Tenedos, its neighbour, was in the interest of Athens. The Peloponnesian Admiral, Mindarus, on his departure from Eresus for Abydos, steered, to avoid the enemy, along the Asian coast toward the Hellespont; put into port to breakfast, dine, and sup, as the usage then was; embarked his men in the night, and having again landed to dine, opposite to Methymna, proceeded hastily on his voyage, in the afternoon; sailed by Leetos, and Larissa and Hamaxitus, both now first mentioned, and by the towns there; and arrived at Rhœtœum before midnight; some of his vessels stopping at Sigœum and the places adjacent. The centinels at Sestos, seeing (Thueydides¹ does not say fire-signals, though he has been so translated, but) fires in the country of the enemy, lighted, it is natural to suppose, for the uses of the Peloponnesians on their landing, gave the alarm, and the Athenian fleet, consisting of eighteen triremes, which lay in the harbour, came down hastily to Eleûs, and, being attacked

¹ L. viii. c. 102.

there, escaped to Lemnos, and the continent of Europe, with the loss of four taken; one with its crew, having been forced ashore opposite the temple of Protesilaus.

III. The Athenian commanders at Lesbos, on receiving intelligence that the Peloponnesians were in the Hellespont, immediately followed them; and, on their way, fell in with and captured two of their triremes, which had pursued their late victory with more eagerness than caution. On the second day they arrived at Eleûs. On their approach, Mindarus, abandoning the siege, had joined the squadron lying at Abydos; when his fleet consisted of eighty-six triremes. The Athenian commanders¹ had only sixty-eight, but resolved to offer battle. They employed five days in the harbour of Eleûs in preparations, and then advanced towards Sestos in a line, ranging along the European side of the Hellespont from Idaeos to Arriani (names of places which I have not met with in any antient writer but Thucydides²). The Peloponnesians reached from Abydos as far as Dardanus. The Athenians having extended their line to avoid being taken in flank by the more numerous enemy, were weak in the centre; and fifteen of the triremes were driven ashore by the Peloponnesians, who landed and destroyed them; the coast about Cynossema having a sharp and angular turning, which concealed what passed there from the rest of their fleet; but Thrasybulus, who commanded their right, taking advantage of the disorder which

¹ Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus.

² L. viii. c. 105.

attended this success, and being supported by Thrasyllus, the Lacedæmonians fled first toward the river Rodius, and thence back to Abydos, with the loss of twenty-one ships. They sent heralds to desire that the bodies of their slain might be restored to them. The Athenians set up a trophy on the head-land or point, which, says Thucydides¹, is called Cynos-sema, *The monument of the Bitch*. This was the name and place of the barrow of Queen Hecuba; of which mention is made about the same time by the poet Euripides.

IV. A squadron of fourteen triremes entering the Hellespont at dawn of day, the Athenians were again apprized of the approach of an enemy by their centinels at Sestos. The Peloponnesian commander Dorieus seeing, when near Abydos, twenty triremes coming down to oppose him, retreated toward the Dardanian cape, and, on opening Rhœtœum, drew up so near the shore that they fought from it and from their vessels, the garrison of Dardanus assisting in their defence; until the Athenians, foiled in their attempt, set sail to return to Madytos, where they had a camp. Mindarus, who was a spectator of this action from the neighbouring town of Ilium (on or near the site of ancient Troy, says Mr. Mitford,) where he was sacrificing to Minerva, hastened back to Abydos, drew down his triremes, and effected a junction with the new comers². The Athenians then descending with their whole fleet from Sestos, a battle followed; in which the

¹ L. viii. Diodorus Siculus.

² Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus.

superior skill of their pilots was displayed in gaining by their manœuvres the advantage of the tide. The contest was maintained, the greatest part of the day, with various success. Toward the evening, a squadron of eighteen triremes was seen entering the Hellespont from the Ægæan. This was commanded by Alcibiades, a descendant, it may be here mentioned, of Eury-saces son of Ajax Telamon, and through him from Jupiter¹. The Peloponnesians fled toward Abydos; but were driven to the shore, and compelled to fight from it and their triremes; when Pharnabazus, their ally, nobly supported them with a land-force, riding at the head of his cavalry as far into the water as his horse would carry him. The crews mostly escaped; but the Athenians carried off thirty of the vessels. Afterwards, Mindarus, being re-inforced and having sixty triremes, resolved to attack the Athenian fleet of forty stationed at Sestos; but this withdrew by night. He then, with the assistance of Pharnabazus, reduced Cyzicus. Meanwhile the Athenian fleet returned to Sestos, with a re-inforcement of six triremes under Alcibiades, who attacked him by surprise. Mindarus was slain, and his fleet destroyed; when Pharnabazus sent the officers to Antandros, to superintend the building of other vessels at the southern foot of Mount Ida, where timber abounded. The Antandrians were then raising walls for the defence of their town.

V. Of the Hellespontic cities, Abydos alone had not been retaken, when Lyander, General of the Lacedæmonian con-

¹ Plato in Alcibiades. Plutarch, in his Life.

federacy, arrived there and again made its harbour the station of their fleet. The Athenian commanders, who followed him, were informed at Eleûs, where they dined, that he was at Lampsacus. They proceeded to Sestos, took in provisions for the night, and in the evening came to Aigospotami, overagainst Lampsacus, where they supped. The strait there was scarcely two miles wide. There was neither town nor harbour, yet they formed there a naval camp. The gallies were hauled up on the beach, or at anchor near it. The men had as far as Sestos, which was two miles off, to go for a market, and often wandered about the country. Alcibiades, who had great possessions in the Chersonesus, interposed in vain with salutary council. Lysander unexpectedly attacked them. One hundred and seventy of the Athenian triremes were taken, and few escaped. A Milesian vessel was dispatched with the news of this great event, and arrived in the port of Lacedæmon on the third day. The Hellespontine and other cities submitted to Lysander¹. He expelled people of Sestos, and divided the city and the adjacent territory among his seamen; but the Spartans, displeased at this severity, directed that they should be restored². The surrender of Athens to the Peloponnesians followed; seven hundred seventy-nine years, says Diodorus³, after the destruction of Troy. On the conclusion of the war, the Asian Greeks became subjects of the king of Persia, the ally of Lacedæmon.

¹ Xenophon, Hist. l. i. c. i. l. 20.

² Plutarch in Lysander.

³ L. 13.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

- I. *Passage of the Cyreian Greeks through the Tröia.*—II. *The Tröia under the Persians.*—III. *Recovered for the Lacedæmōnians.*—IV. *Ambush of the Athenians near Abydos.*—V. *End of the war.*

I. **W**HEN the army of Greek mercenaries employed by Cyrus in his expedition into Persia was on its return homeward, Timasion, an exile of Dardanum, one of the Generals whom they had chosen, proposed, with a view to his own restoration, the plundering of the rich satrapy of Pharnabazus, of which the Tröia was a portion. When Seuthes, a Thracian prince, on engaging them in his service, gave an entertainment, Timasion, as it was usual to carry presents, took from his store of Asiatic spoil a silver cup, and a Persian carpet of the value of forty pounds sterling¹. On their return into Asia, they landed at Lampsacus, and the following day marched to Ophrynum, where Xenophon, admonished by a friend, sacrificed, as had been formerly his custom, to Jupiter Meilichius, according to the antient Attic rites. From thence they passed through the Tröia, and having

¹ See Mitford.

crossed over Ida, came to Antandros, the plain of Thebe, and Pergamum, on their way to join the army of the Lacedæmonians, who were then at war with Persia¹.

II. Zenis, a Greek of Dardanium, had been appointed by Pharnabazus to be governor, or "according to Xenophon²," says Mr. Mitford³, "Satrap of that fine country so interesting in earliest history, as the kingdom of Priam and the seat of the Trojan war." He dying, Pharnabazus conferred his office, the presidency of the Æolis, on his widow Mania, likewise a Dardanian, who, with equal ability held for him the strong-holds already in their possession; and, raising a body of Greek mercenaries, acquired, of the cities, which did not obey him, the maritime (so termed, I suppose, to distinguish them from the cities on Mount Ida), Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ; having approached their walls with a Greek token of hospitality. This extraordinary woman was murdered in her palace by the husband of her daughter, Meidias, who destroyed her son, and then solicited Pharnabazus to confer on him the government, which she had held; but he refused the proffered presents with generous indignation, and declared his resolution to punish her assassin. Meidias seized on Seepsis and Gergis⁴, strong towns, in which the chief treasures of Mania were deposited; but the other places in the Tröia were preserved by their garrisons for Pharnabazus.

¹ Xenophon, Anab. 1. 3. l. 5. l. 7.

² Hellen. 1. 3.

³ V. 3. p. 210.

⁴ The same as Gergithes, p. 43.

III. The General of the Laecedæmonian army in Asia Minor, Dereyllidas, who was at enmity with Pharnabazus, covenanted, in a treaty with the Persian governor Tissaphernes, to be allowed a passage into Æolia. When he arrived on the borders, immediately, in one day, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ complied with his summons. He promised complete emancipation from the dominion of Persia to the Æolian cities, and exhorted them to receive him within their walls, and to join him in the common cause of Grecian liberty. The Neandrians and Cocylitæ are now first noticed by Xenophon. The former were a people distant a few miles inland from Ilium. Of the Coeylitæ, or of a place named Coeylus, no mention is made by any other antient author; and, I apprehend, we should read Cotylitæ, the dwellers on Mount Cotylus, as the name stands in Strabo²; a summit of Mount Ida above Seepsis. These, with the Iliæans submitted; the Greeks in their garrisons, which had been attached to Mania, not being equally well affected to Pharnabazus. The governor of Cebren, which was a very strong and antient place on the side of Ilium next Lectos, refused to surrender; but the inhabitants opened their gates on the approach of Dereyllidas. He then proceeded against Seepsis and Gergis. The Seepsians admitting him, he ordered the garrison to quit the citadel, and sacrificed there to Minerva, assembled the people, and restored the town to them; admonishing them so to govern it as became Greeks and freemen.

² P. 602.

At Gergis the men on the towers, which were very lofty, seeing Meidias, to whom he had granted conditions of alliance, advance with him, did not make use of their missile weapons, but, by his order, opened the gates; when they both entered, and, going together to the citadel, sacrificed to Minerva. Dereyllidas, having thus in eight days recovered nine cities, proposed a truce, which was accepted by Pharnabazus.

IV. The other powers of Greece uniting against Lacedæmon, the Athenians joined the confederacy, and, after a great victory obtained by their fleet under Pharnabazus and Conon, met with resistance in the Hellespont only from two cities, Sestos and Abydos, which received the fugitive colonists of the Chersonesus within their walls. Abydos was defended by Dereyllidas, who continued to preserve for the Lacedæmonians that relic of their empire in Asia, when two new commanders were sent to the Hellespont, Anaxibius from Lacedæmon, Iphicrates from Athens. "A proposal to revolt coming to Anaxibius from a party in Antandros, he led thither the greater part of his force, consisting of Abydenes, mercenaries, and the Lacedæmonian governors, with their followers, who had taken refuge in Abydos with Dereyllidas. Iphicrates, informed of this movement, crossed the Hellespont in the night, landed on the Asiatic shore, and directing his march toward Cremastë on the highlands of Ida, where, says Xenophon¹, were the gold mines of the Antandrians, he took a station commodious

¹ Hellen. l. 4. c. 8. l. 37.

for intercepting the Laeedæmonians on their return. His squadron hastened back to Sestos, and, at day-break, according to orders given, moved up the Hellespont toward the Propontis. It was seen from the Asiatic shore, holding that course, and the feint completely deceived Anaxibius; who, in the persuasion that Iphierates was gone on some expedition to the northward, marched in full security. He no sooner saw the Athenian infantry, so well was the ambuscade planned, than he saw his own defeat inevitable¹. He was killed; and his army was pursued, with considerable slaughter, to the very walls of Abydos. I have met with no other mention of Cremastë or the gold mines of the Antandrians; and suspect those of Astyra², which were toward Abydos, to have been intended by Xenophon.

V. A fleet of twenty-five triremes was sent from Ephesus by Antalcidas, the Laeedæmonian commander in Asia, to oppose Iphicrates; who, after their arrival, blockaded with a greater number the harbour of Abydos. Antalcidas then hastened thither by land; captured eight triremes coming from Thrace, and collected a naval force so superior that the Athenians could not contend with it. A general peace was concluded in the nineteenth year after the battle of Aigospotami; when it was settled that the Greek cities of Asia should all return to their obedience to the Emperor of Persia³.

¹ Mitford, v. 3. p. 306.

² See Strabo.

³ Polybius, l. 1. Strabo, l. 6. p. 287. Diodorus Siculus, l. 14.

CHAPTER XVI.

I. *Conduct of Charidemus Orites.*—II. *Of his taking Ilium by stratagem.*—III. *Adventure of Æschines at Ilium.*

I. **T**HE Athenians, while they were at war with Philip king of Macedonia, were attacked in the Chersonesus by Cotys, king of Thrace. Charidemus of Oreus, a town in Eubæa, a soldier of fortune, was General of the foreign army in the service of the Republic. On his dismissal, he passed into Asia; where he was hired by the party of Artabazus, who had revolted from king Ochus, but was then a prisoner. Ilium, Seepsis, and Cebren, regarding him as a friend, suffered him to enter. Having them in his power, he held them as his own, and continued within their walls, though he was not provided with necessaries, nor had any maritime place, by which he might be supplied, until Artabazus, having obtained his liberty, approached with an army, which he could not oppose. He then from Abydos (*ever hostile*, it is said, to the Athenians) crossed over to Sestos, of which city Cotys was in possession; and, serving him, laid siege to Eleûs. Afterward the king of Thrace purchased the alliance of the Republic by the surrender of the Chersonesus¹.

¹ Demosthenes against Aristocrates. Diodorus Siculus, l. 16.

II. Æneas, a very antient Greek writer on Tactics, has related ¹, that Charidemus obtained possession of Ilium in the following manner. He had learned that a servant of the Archon or Governor was accustomed to go out of the town to plunder, and to return with his booty, commonly in the night. This man, with whom he procured a clandestine interview and made a bargain, came forth at an appointed hour on horseback, as they had agreed; for otherwise his way would have been through a postern, by which only a single person could pass. He went back with about thirty soldiers in armour, but disguised and concealing their daggers, shields, and helmets; and with women and children, as captives. The city-gate being opened to admit the horse, they killed the guard, and let in Charidemus ². The town thus taken was in danger of being immediately lost. A General, who opposed him and was not far off, being apprised of the attack, advanced by a different way, under favour of the night, entered the gate, during the tumult, with his troops; and the word of one party happening to be *Dioscuri*, and that of the other *Tyndaridæ*, his purpose, owing to this double appellation of the deities Castor and Pollux, was nearly effected before he was discovered to be an enemy.

¹ Comment. Tactic. et Obsidional. v. 2. p. 1685.

² This stratagem is related with some variation by Polyænus, l. 3, *end.* In his account the horse is given by Charidemus to be conducted into the city with other feigned plunder.

Plutarch, who has observed that some persons are pleased with incidents bearing a resemblance to each other, cites for an example the taking of Ilium thrice by means, or on account, of horses, by Hercules, the Greeks, and Charidemus¹; and an allusion to the same circumstance is contained in a Latin epigram, made on one Asellus, who, I suppose, not understanding or not relishing the *Ilias* had committed it to the flames.

Carminis Iliaci libros consumpsit Asellus;

Hoc fatum Trojæ est, aut Equus aut Asinus².

III. I shall now give an abstract of one of the Epistles³, which are ascribed to the famous orator Æschines. The author relates, that, after leaving Athens, he had arrived at Ilium, where he had intended to stay until he should have gone through all the verses in the *Ilias* on the very spot to which they severally had reference; but was prevented by the misconduct of his fellow-traveller, a young rake, named Cimon. It was the custom, he tells us, for maidens who were betrothed to repair on a certain day to bathe in the Seamander. Among them was, at this time, a damsel of illustrious family called Callirrhoe. Æschines, with their relations and the multitude, was a spectator of as much of the ceremony as was allowed to be seen, at a due distance; but Cimon, who had conceived a bad design against this lady, personating the River-

¹ In the life of Sertorius.

² See Wood. Essay on Homer, p. 340.

³ The tenth.

God and wearing a crown of reeds, lay concealed in a thicket; until she, as was usual, invoked Seamander to receive the offer, which she made, of herself to him. He then leaped forth, saying, "I Seamander most willingly accept of Callirrhoe," and, with many promises of kindness, imposed on and abused her simplicity and credulity. Four days after this ceremony, a public festival was held in honour of Venus, when the females, whose nuptials had been recently celebrated, appeared in the procession. Æschines was again a spectator, and Cimon with him; to whom Callirrhoe, on seeing him, respectfully bowed her head, as she passed by; and, casting her eyes on her nurse, told her, that was the God Seamander. A discovery followed. The two companions got to their lodging and quarrelled; a croud gathered about the gate of the house; and Æschines with difficulty made his escape by the back-door to a place of security. It is proper to mention here, that these Epistles are not regarded as genuine by the learned; and this, in particular, though it is stiled an authentic and impartial narrative by Mr. Gibbon^{*}, ill accords, it has been remarked, with the grave dignity of the rival of Demosthenes.

^{*} History, v. 3, p. 85, *note*. He refers to Bayle, *Seamander*.

CHAPTER XVII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

- I. *His descent.*—II. *He invades Asia.*—III. *Visits Ilium and the tombs of the Heroes.*—IV. *His departure, and kindness to the Ilićans.*—V. *His regard for Homer, and imitations of Achilles.*

I. IMMEDIATE, as well as lineal descendants from deities, even of the highest class, continued, long after Homer, to be no very remarkable rarities in Greece and Asia. Alexander the Great was the reputed son of Jupiter by Olympias. Another lady, who pretended or believed that she had been pregnant by a God, furnished the Seleucidæ, one of the families which divided his dominions, with Apollo for their progenitor. If Alexander was the son of Philip, and not of *Supreme* Jupiter, he derived his pedigree from Hereules, and was of the family of Æacus, into which Andromache the wife of Hector had married after her captivity. The plan which his ambition pursued was that of his mortal father; to make conquests on earth. As General of Greece he waged war with the Persians under the pretext of avenging their repeated invasions of that country.

II. The army of Alexander passed the Hellespont at the Strait of Abydos, and encamped by the noble Arisbe of Homer; of
which

which the site, except its having been toward Lampsacus, was uncertain in the time of Strabo¹. One of his commanders had an engagement with the Persians in the Tröia, and was compelled to retire to Rhœtëum². Alexander went from Sestos to visit the barrow of Protesilaus and to sacrifice to that hero. He crossed from Eleüs with sixty vessels to the Port of the Achæans, which was opposite. He sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, when he was mid-way on the water; and, as Xerxes had done before him, poured a libation from a cup of gold, but I find no mention of his having thrown it into the sea. When he came near the shore, he cast a javelin, which standing fixed in the ground, he leaped, in complete armour, out of the vessel; and, like one dancing³, I suppose to testify joy at the omen, signified, that with his spear he, by the favour of the Gods, took possession of Asia. They raised altars where he embarked, and also where, with better fortune than Protesilaus, he had landed in the country of the enemy; and when the victims were slain, he prayed that these realms might receive him willingly for their king⁴.

III. Ilium, to which Alexander went up from the Port of the Achæans, was then a village with a small and mean temple of Minerva⁵. On his arrival there, crowns of gold were placed on his head by his pilot, by Chares an Athenian from Sigéum, and by other Greeks and Asiatics. He sacrificed to Minerva; and

¹ P. 590.

² Arrian, Exped. l. 1.

³ Justin. l. xi. c. 5.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, l. 17.

⁵ Strabo, p. 593.

viewed attentively the Antiquities and Curiosities. On the altar of Jupiter *Herc us*, or *of the Courtile*, (whose statue, carried away by the Greeks, continued to be shown at Argos in the time of Pausanias ¹;) he poured libations to Priam; praying, that the vengeance which had overtaken Neoptolemus ², who, after killing him at it, was slain at the altar of Apollo at Delphi, might not be extended to his progeny, and fall on him as one of his descendants. He rejected the lyre of Paris, which an Ili an offered him, if he chose to accept of it; saying, that he had no need of it, as he possessed the harp with which Achilles had been solaced, chanting to it the exploits of famous men; while the lyre of Paris had tinkled only a certain soft and feminine harmony, the accompaniment of amorous songs ³. He was desirous of seeing the tombs of the heroes. He performed rites and made offerings at them, especially at those of Achilles and Ajax Telamon ⁴, descendants of  Eacus. He adorned the barrow of Achilles, whom he regarded as his ancestor, with choice flowers, anointed the stela or pillar on it with sweet perfumes, and, with his companions, ran naked, as the custom was, round it. In an address to the hero, he insisted on the felicity which had attended him, on his having had a faithful friend, while living; and a famous poet to celebrate his exploits after his decease. "What a number

¹ Corinth. l. 2.

² Messen. l. 4.

³ Plutarch. Of the fortune of Alexander, l. 1.  elian. Var. Hist. l. 9. c. 38. See Bayle in *Achilles*.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, l. 17.

of writers of his actions, says Cicero in his defence of Archias¹, is Alexander reported to have had in his retinue; and yet, when he stood by the barrow of Achilles at Sigeum, he said, "O fortunate young man, who hast found an Homer to be the herald of thy valour!" And justly, for unless the Ilias had existed, the tomb which covered his body would have been that likewise of his renown." Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander, bestowed his garlands on Patroclus; intimating, that he bore the like relation to Alexander; the king honouring the king, the friend his friend, in their common sepulchre².

IV. The Iliéans were too liberal of omens, which cost them nothing, to omit providing the monarch with a store of good ones, when he was about to leave them. On his coming to the sacred portion of their Goddess, the priest who offered sacrifice, and who was named Alexander, met him; and, having found, as he declared, the statue of a former Satrap of Phrygia lying prostrate in the area before the temple, (probably thrown down for the purpose), and also observed favourable prognostics in augury, assured him, that he would gain a victory by his cavalry; especially if he gave battle in Phrygia; and that, fighting in the ranks, he would kill a great commander of the enemy; for these events were pre-signified by the Gods, and particularly by Minerva, who would contribute to his good fortune³. The king was pleased with the pre-

¹ C. x.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 7. Fabretti on the Iliac Table, p. 336.

³ Diodorus Siculus.

diction, and doubtless rewarded the Prophet as well as the Goddess, whom he regaled on the occasion with a costly sacrifice. Also he dedicated to her his own armour; taking in lieu of it from her temple some of that yet saved, they said, (but the report Mr. Bryant assures us was certainly without foundation ¹) from the Trojan war ²; and to it he thrice owed his life in the battle of the Granicus; after which he returned, adorned the temple with offerings, ordered Curators to repair the buildings, and raised Ilium to the rank of a city, which he declared free and exempt from tribute. Moreover, when he had subdued the Persians, he wrote a kind letter to the people, promising to make their city great, and the temple famous, and to introduce Sacred Games ³ to be held there; and, on the inspection of his memorandum-book, after his decease, it appeared that he had intended to erect at Ilium a temple of Minerva not inferior to any in splendour and magnificence.

VI. Alexander is said to have studied the poems of Homer; to have revised them with the assistance of Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, two Philosophers and Critics who accompanied him in his expedition; and to have deposited the copy, with their remarks, in a box of admirable beauty and great value found among the precious spoils of king Darius; from which a certain edition was afterwards called that of the casket ⁴. At the funeral of Hephaes-

¹ Dissertation, p. 5.

² Arrian. *Expedit.* l. i.

³ Strabo, p. 593. Arrian.

⁴ Strabo, p. 594. See Comment. Plutarch in his Life.

tion, he and his companions cut off their hair, as Achilles and his Myrmidons had done at that of Patroclus; and, after the example, as he boasted, of his great aneestor, he dragged the brave defender of Gaza tied to the tail of his chariot about the city¹. But this is not the usage which Heetor experiences in the *Ilias*. Aehilles is not there described as dragging him about Troy, but from the spot where he was killed to the ships, and afterwards, thrie for several mornings, eneompassing the barrow, which he had caused to be made for Patroclus, with the body so fastened. The other atroeity is imputed to him by Euripides²; and not, as Mr. Bayle³ has supposed, first by Virgil, though he, and not he alone, has adopted the spurious tale with increase of the outrage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE TRÖIA UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

I. *Of Ilium and Alexandréa Troas*.—II. *Of Scepsis*.—III. *Of Chrysa*.—IV. *Of the barrow of Ilus*.—V. *Of a plain on Lectos*.—VI. *Of the arrival of Antiochus the first at Ilium*.

I. **A**MID the contests of the Generals of Alexander the Great for dominion, after his decease, Lysimachus first obtained Thrace and its vicinity in Europe. Passing afterwards with an

¹ Q. Curtius, l. 4.

² In Andromache.

³ In *Achilles*.

army into Asia, he invaded Antigonus, reduced and placed a garrison in Sigéum, and got possession of the country¹. It was he, who chiefly, after Alexander, took care of Ilium. He rebuilt the temple; encircled the town, as much as forty stadia², with a wall; and collected into it the inhabitants of the old cities round about it, which had gone to decay. It was he likewise³ who took care of Alexandréa in the Troas, which had been already peopled by Antigonus, and called Antigonía; but he changed that appellation from malice to his rival masqued under the pretext that the successors of Alexander, building cities, ought, in the first instance, to give his name a preference to their own. What places were depopulated to increase the number of Iliéans we are not told; but Antigonus had transferred to Alexandréa the Scepsians, Cebrenians, and Neandrians, the inhabitants of Colonæ, Chrysa, Larissa, and other inconsiderable towns and strong-holds in that neighbourhood, and had annexed to it their respective territories⁴; also whether it was he or Lysimachus who instituted Games at Ilium, according to the design of Alexander, is not mentioned; but Lycon of Troas, as Alexandréa was also called, a celebrated school-master at Athens and famous for his eloquence, was said, not long after, to have contended in his own country, and as a wrestler, and as a thrower of the sphere or

¹ Diodorus Siculus, l. 18.

² Five miles.

³ Strabo, p. 593. For *τε* quando I read *ε*, *τε* ille etiam. The name *Troas*, Mr. Bryant informs us, was not known until the building of this city. Dissertation, p. 51.

⁴ P. 597, 607.

bowl, at the Iliéan Games¹. The Tenedians, too weak to be independent, attached themselves to the Alexandrines² their more powerful neighbours; and the new city became the principal, if not the sole, place of any consequence between Sigéum and Lectos. From this æra the Tröia has remained a region of solitude and ruins.

II. Demetrius related concerning Scepsis, that it was founded, and that the people had removed into it, under Scamandrius son of Hector and Ascanius son of Æneas; that the monarchy established in these two families had been succeeded, after a long continuance, by an oligarchy; which, a colony of Milesians becoming co-citizens, yielded to a democracy; but that the title of kings had remained to their descendants, and that they had enjoyed certain honours down to the time of the removal of the people by Antigonus; his zeal for its antiquity and glory, as Strabo has observed, overcoming in this instance his reverence for the authority of Homer, by whom the race of Priam is declared in the Ilias about to be extinct; moreover, that the Scepsians were permitted to return to their own country by Lysimachus; but that the Cebrenians, with whom, separated only by the river Scamander, they had been always at war and enmity, were retained with the other people at Alexandréa. Scepsis recovered in some degree

¹ Diogenes Laertius in his Life. He succeeded Strato in his School in the 127th Olympiad.

² Pausanias p. 330.

its pristine consequence; and Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle and his successor in his school at Athens, gave his library, which included that of his master, the first on record, to a Scepsian, one of their disciples; who removed it to this city, and left it to his descendants, many years the unworthy possessors of that invaluable treasure¹.

III. Chrysa, which has not been mentioned before, was near Hamaxitus and noted for its temple of Apollo Smintheus, *The Mouse-Apollo*. It was the spot referred to in the story of the Teucri; in which was found the reason why the image of the God had been carved with a mouse beneath its foot. But Heraclides of Pontus, a disciple of Plato and Aristotle, had related, that mice abounded there, and were held sacred, and that, on this account, the image had been made standing on a mouse. Strabo, who rejects the tale of the Teucri, derives the origin of the place from the dispersion of the Cilicians; some of whom had transferred to it the shrine of this Apollo from a more ancient Chrysa, that of Homer, in the territory of Adramyttium².

IV. The ancient barrow of the Trojan king Ilus, which is naked or has only a pillar on it in the *Ilias*, now made a different appearance. Theophrastus, who was not less eminent as a naturalist than as a Philosopher, instances, to illustrate his position that the reports of the mythologists were evidences of the longevity of certain kinds of Trees, the Olive at Athens; the Palm at Delos;

¹ Strabo, p. 608.

² Strabo, 604, 605, 612.

the wild Olive, of which the Crowns were made, at Olympia; and the Beeches on this barrow¹. What the tradition was concerning these will be seen when I have occasion to mention them again.

V. Among the plains of Leetos was one, not large, named Tragæum, noted for a spontaneous saltern, where the mineral, fixed by the Etesian winds, was in such plenty, that, it is related, the people of Troas could use it as much and as often as they pleased. Lysimaehus imposed a duty on it, and it then suddenly disappeared. He is said to have wondered at the circumstance, and to have revoked his edict of taxation; when, being free, the salt began to be found again as before².

VI. Antiochus, son and successor of Seleueus Nieator the conqueror of Lysimaehus, engaging in an expedition against the king of Bithynia, and his fleet stopping on the way at Sigéum, went up to Ilium with his queen, who was also his sister, his potentates and retinue. Of his reception there we have no account; but the people of Sigéum manifested on his arrival a disposition to profane and servile adulation like that which is the disgrace and reproach of the Athenians, whom they resembled in their forms of government. They not only sent Ambassadors to him with congratulations, but passed a Deeree, which, after encomiums on his conduct, enacts, that public supplications should be made for his prosperity and that of his consort to Minerva of Ilium; to Apollo

¹ L. iv. c. 14. ἡ φρjος a species of the Oak. L. iv. c. 9, 10.

² Strabo, p. 605; and see Comment. on p. 227.

his leader (who was also his reputed progenitor); to Victory, and other deities; the priestess, priests, magistrates and officers wearing crowns; and also for the king and the people of Sigéum, by all the citizens, commorants, and sojourners there, who were required to extol Antiochus for his great virtue and valour; providing also that his golden image on horseback should be placed in the temple of Minerva at Sigéum on a pedestal of white marble to be inscribed, “The Sigéans *have set up king* Antiochus son of king Seleucus for his piety to the Temple; a *benefactor*, and the saviour of the People; this honour to be proclaimed in the General Assembly and at the Games.” Like his father, Antiochus pretended or believed that the Genius of Alexander the Great favoured him, when sleeping, with his advice; and, accordingly, he is here mentioned as having with him his propitious and co-operating Genius. He did not wait for posthumous deification, for he had already a priest; as appears also from the Decree¹.

¹ Chishull, *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 49.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS UNDER KING ATTALUS.

I. The Tröia invaded by king Philip.—II. Of the Gauls.—III. Removal of the Gergithans by Attalus.

I. **A**TTALUS, who had risen into power and assumed the title of king at Pergamum ¹, was an ally of the Romans in their war with Philip king of Macedonia. On a renewal of hostilities, after a treaty of peace, Philip entered the Chersonesus of Thrace, and Eleûs and Madytos surrendered to him ². He then besieged Abydos, where Attalus had a small garrison; encompassed it with an intrenchment on the land-side, and planted piles cross-ways to complete the blockade next the sea. The Abydenes continued to make a desperate defence even after their wall was thrown down; and few of them survived the last attack ³. He was afterwards compelled by the Roman General to withdraw his garrisons from Scstos and Abydos for the defence of his own dominions; and, in another treaty of peace, it was agreed that Abydos should be declared a free city ⁴.

II. A body of Gauls in the pay of Attalus refusing, from superstition, on an eclipse of the moon, to obey orders, it was

¹ Strabo, p. 624.

² Livy, l. 31.

³ Polybius.

⁴ Livy, l. 32.

settled, that they should return to Europe; when he accompanied them with his army as far as the Hellespont; and, on his way back, made a kind visit to the people of Ilium and Alexandréa¹. The Gauls again crossed over into Asia, distressed the cities of the Hellespont, and wanting possession of a strong-hold, went up into Ilium, but presently deserted it, finding the place would not suit their purpose on account of the part without a wall. On their threatening at another time to besiege Ilium, the people dwelling round about Alexandréa Troas performed no inconsiderable exploit, sending a body of three thousand men against them, and compelling them to retire².

III. Attalus destroyed the city Gergithes, and removed the people, which, it may be presumed, were hostile to his views, from the Troas into Mysia; where, when Strabo wrote, they continued to inhabit Gergitha a village near the sources of the river Cäicus³. The Phrygian goddess Cybele was conveyed in a vessel from Mount Ida, and first introduced at Rome while Attalus governed the country⁴.

¹ Livy, l. 33. Polybius, p. 586.

Strabo, p. 616.

² Strabo, p. 594. Polybius, p. 623.

⁴ Ovid, Fast. l. iv.

CHAPTER XX.

The descent of the Romans from the Trojans.

THE prophesy in Homer concerning Æneas and his posterity and the extent of their future kingdom was as generally known in the antient world as the Ilias. After the Æolians had occupied the Tröia no people arose there to whom it could be applied. Alexander and his successors had no pretensions to Æneas for a progenitor. But in Italy the Romans were seen attaining to pre-eminence and spreading their conquests over and beyond the country, which was acknowledged to have received colonies both of Greeks and Trojans. The descendants of the Asian settlers there, or the ingenious, and some have stiled them lying, Greeks, may be reckoned the first heralds of their Trojan ancestry. Lycophron, living, it is remarkable, in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and more than two centuries before Augustus Caesar, having adopted the tale (it is supposed from some Greek poet who had described the voyages and wanderings of Æneas), made his Cassandra, the inspired daughter of Priam, to speak of them as the people to whom should be consigned the sceptres and monarchy of the earth and sea¹; a bold prediction, says Gibbon, before the end of the first Punic war².

¹ Cassandra, v. 1226, 1280.² History, v. IV. p. 337.

The ferocious citizens of Rome, in the early ages of the Republic, had not leisure, nor perhaps were they solicitous, to trace back their origin; sufficiently aware of its being far from illustrious. They became afterwards acquainted with the traditions of the Italian towns which they subdued, and the writings of the Greeks; and these were the sources of their Trojan knowledge. Fabius Pictor their first historian was posterior to Lycophron. He amused them with a relation of the arrival of Æneas in the country, as their leader; and with a suite of adventures, and of kings, his posterity reaching down to Romulus and Remus. The fictitious narrative met with their ready assent; while the continued progress of their arms countenanced the opinion that they were guided by an over-ruling Destiny, and contributed to establish the persuasion that in them, now become the claimants, the prophesy which bestowed a widely-extended empire on the Æneadæ was hastening to its completion.

On examining the passage in Homer, which was the basis of this superstructure, it was found, that, according to the poet, Æneas and his successors were to reign not over Italians, but Trojans. Some persons, to remove this difficulty, and to set the hero at liberty to ramble from home, substituted in the room of the word *Trojans*, one of greater latitude, expressive of universal empire¹. But this reading, not to offer any other remark on it, is contradicted by the hymn to Venus. The goddess there tells

¹ Strabo, p. 668, *παλαιοι* for *Τρωες*.

Anchises that Æneas will reign over Trojans¹, and that sons will be born to his sons. Dionysius of Halicarnassus supposes Æneas and his posterity to have governed the Trojans in Italy, while his son Ascanius remained and was king in the Tröia, where his descendants ruled in the time of Homer; but it has been replied, Æneas then obtained no distinction above Antenor, Capys, and others who settled in that country; and it is affirmed in the Ilias, that he should succeed Priam, who reigned over all the Trojans and in the Tröia. Dionysius has also mentioned colonies said to have been settled by him as evidences of his voyage. It was easy for the author of his adventures to conduct him to places, of which the names were favourable to the fiction. The people, he was sure, would be disposed, from a prevailing affectation of antiquity, to adopt the fable as true; the priests, zealous for the honour of their temples, would be delighted to hear that so great a hero had visited and made offerings at them, or had consulted their oracle; and complaisant writers, like this historian, would not be wanting, to give their sanction to the narrative. It has also been said that Æneas, leaving a colony in Italy, returned to the Tröia. Eustathius imagines, that Homer by the Trojans intended the Romans; that he was acquainted with the Sibylline Oracles, which derive the Roman princes from Æneas (a sure proof of their being a forgery); or that he foresaw (as most poets according to the learned bishop are endowed with the gift of prophesy) that

¹ V. 196, *ἢ Τρώεσσι νικᾶται*.

the Romans were to descend from him and become masters of the world.

The most early instance I have met with of an avowal made by the Romans of their consanguinity with the Trojans, is connected with a quarrel between two countries in Greece'. The Acarnanians, imploring their aid against the Ætolians, represented that their ancestors did not go to the siege of Troy; and the Senate appointed an embassy to require the Ætolians to withdraw their garrisons, and leave in quiet a nation, which alone of all the Greeks, had not assisted in the war against the people from whom the Romans were descended. So true is it, says the acute Bayle², that on certain occasions policy does not refuse to adopt the most ridiculous pretences. Both the plea and interference was grounded on falsehood. Strabo³ has shown from the catalogue of the forces under Agamemnon, that the country of Acarnania is declared by Homer to have supplied its quota for the expedition. In their answer, the Ætolians rejected with equal contempt the reason which was assigned by the Romans for their insolent demand, and their pretensions, though attested by the Senate, to Trojan origin. But this rebuff did not make them relinquish their claim. They had motives sufficient to induce them to persevere in it, to extend and establish as much as possible the belief of their connection with Æneas. It was calculated to promote, especially among the Asiatic Greeks, a persuasion and

¹ Justin, l. 28, c. 1.

² See *Acarnania*.

³ P. 318.

prejudice favourable to their views; and, in particular, well adapted to secure to their legions, when the career of victory should bring them to the confines of Europe and Asia, an unimpeded, as it would be an expected, passage of the Hellespont, and a benevolent reception from the people there.

The most early instance of public attention bestowed by the Romans on the Iliéans is found in the first treaty of peace with Philip King of Macedonia, when they were included by name¹; more, it may well be imagined, as a token of regard, than a proof of any real consequence attaching to them.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA.

- I. *Invasion of Europe by Antiochus the Great.*—II. *Arrival of the Roman admiral in the Hellespont.*—III. *Antiochus invaded by the Romans.*—IV. *Interview of the Romans and Iliéans.*—V. *Regard of the Romans for Ilium.*

I. **ANTIOCHUS**, surnamed the Great, a descendant of Seleucus Nicator, laying claim to all the dominions which had belonged to Lysimachus, was desirous to invade Europe; but three cities, Smyrna, Alexandréa Troas, and Lampsacus, which he

¹ Livy, l. 29, c. 12.

was unable to get into his hands by force or by treaty, and which he was unwilling to leave behind him unsubdued, detained him in Asia¹. At length, having put a garrison into Abydos, and sent a detachment of his army against Lampsacus, he crossed the Hellespont and laid siege to Madytos; which shut its gates against him, but on his surrounding the wall with troops and menacing an assault, surrendered; as did the remaining places of the Chersonesus. He then, before he would loosen his ships for the voyage, went up to Ilium to sacrifice to Minerva there.

II. The Romans were now at war with Antiochus²; and, the following year, their admiral, Caius Livius, entering the Hellespont with thirty ships, and with seven quadriremes, which had been brought to him by King Eumenes; son and successor of Attalus, steered first to the port of the Achæans, and went up to Ilium: where, after sacrificing to Minerva, he gave a kind audience to ambassadors from the neighbouring places, from Eleûs, Dardanus, and Rhœtêum; all which surrendered to the Romans³. He then sailed up the Hellespont, where Abydos, which had a royal garrison, withstood him; but he obtained possession of Sestos.

III. The Roman army, under Lucius Cornelius Scipio, coming through the Chersonesus to the Hellespont, found the necessary preparations for their embarkation already made by Livius and Eumenes. They crossed the sea without opposition or tumult,

¹ Livy, l. 35.

² L. 37.

³ Appian.

as to a peaceful coast, the vessels steering some to one place some to another, and encamped by the Hellespont; this being their first passage from Europe into Asia. Scipio advanced to Dardanus; and thence to Rhœtéum; each city pouring forth its inhabitants to meet him; and then to Ilium; from whence he proceeded toward Antiochus, who was at Sardes, and who, alarmed at his progress, offered terms of peace, and, in particular, the cession of Alexandréa Troas and the other cities, about which the war had its beginning, but they were rejected; and a decisive battle soon after gave the Romans possession of all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus¹.

IV. Ilium, when Scipio arrived there², was only a kind of village-city. So says Demetrius of Scepsis, who, a youth, going thither about that time, saw it so poor and neglected a place, that the roofs of the houses were without tiles on them³. It was a fortunate, as well as flattering, circumstance for the people, that, whether policy or persuasion was at the bottom, the Romans were desirous to be esteemed a Trojan colony. The reader may be amused with, perhaps laugh at, the farcical account of their first interview. Scipio, from his camp, which was in the plain under the walls of Ilium, went up to the city and to the citadel; where he sacrificed, as many great and illustrious persons had

¹ Livy, l. 37, 38. Polybius, p. 1130.

² In the year of Rome 562, before Christ 190,

³ Strabo, p. 594.

done before him, to the tutelary goddess. The Iliéans, we are told, showed by the most respectful demeanour and expressions, their deference to the Romans descended from them, and who exulted in this their origin. They related how Æneas and his officers left them to go in quest of a country to settle in; and the Romans challenged these for their progenitors. Their congratulations were warm and mutual; and their joy was likened to that of parents and children meeting after a long separation. An insatiable desire to contemplate the household gods of their ancestors, the places of their nativity, the temples and images which they had frequented or worshipped, possessed the Romans; while the Iliéans, who seem to have well crammed the credulity of their gaping guests, were delighted that their posterity, already conquerors of the West and Africa, laid claim to Asia as the kingdom of their forefathers; and affirmed, that, to have been ruined was a desirable event for Troy, since it had led to so happy a restoration of its consequence¹.

V. When the victorious army returned, and, loaded with the spoils of Asia, proceeded, after passing the Hellespont, by slow marches, through the Chersonesus, the chiefs had leisure, as many as were ambitious of the honour, to make out their Dardan pedigrees; and from this æra the Romans are no longer regarded by Greek and Latin authors as the offspring of the rabble of

¹ Justin, l. 31.

Romulus, but as having their veins enriched with a large portion of true Trojan blood. The *mania* infected alike the Senate and the People, and both became benefactors to Ilium; restoring, embellishing, and conferring privileges on the city which they considered as the parent of Rome.

CHAPTER XXII.

- I. *Of the identity of Ilium and Troy.*—II. *Mr. Bryant cited.*—
 III. *Claim and pleas of the Ilićans.*—IV. *The origin of their city.*—V. *Of the offering sent by the Locrians to their Minerva.*
 —VI. *Of their Palladium.*—VII. *Appeal to Homer.*

I. A QUESTION which was agitated about this time, whether Ilium stood or not on the site of Troy, seems to have lain dormant, or not to have been fully discussed before. When Herodotus says, that Xerxes went up to see *the Pergamum of Priam*, he may be supposed to distinguish the Homeric city from the then Ilium. But another historian, Hellanicus of Lesbos, his contemporary, who has been already mentioned, had with other information or more complaisance, represented this and the Homeric city as the same; and his concurrence with the wishes of the people had contributed in no small degree to establish a position, which numbers were disposed to receive as true, and

which, from the then insignificance of the place, not many would take the trouble to examine; few, if any, to controvert.

II. Mr. Bryant¹ informs us, that, from regard to the Iliéans, Alexander “was resolved to rebuild their antient city: but they could not describe where it originally stood.” I have not met with this anecdote in any other author. It may even be doubted whether the subject had then been under consideration. The stay made by Alexander at Ilium was not sufficient for him, if he had the inclination, to enter into or to decide on disputes in archæology, if any then subsisted. Engaged as he was there in preparing for battle or the pursuit of the enemy, it is more probable that what was told him positively he heard hastily, and admitted without suspicion of mistake.

III. The public and avowed patronage of the conquerors of Antiochus, and the ambition of some principal Roman families to deduce their pedigrees from Trojan stems, was not more calculated to excite jealousy in the neighbours, than vanity in the people of Ilium. Extraordinary circumstances had concurred to favour the opinion, that they inherited and inhabited the antient Troy; and, flattered, as they were, with the idea that the Romans, as descended from the same stock, were becoming masters of the world, and, possessing at the same time solid advantages from the connection, whether real or imaginary, it might be expected that they would endeavour to establish their local

Dissert. p. 40, 41, 51.

importance with increase of zeal, solicitous that their claim of being truly citizens of the genuine Troy should be allowed in its full extent. Accordingly, they averred it was not true that Troy had entirely vanished on its capture by the Greeks, or had ever been deserted; and, to prove the identity of their city with Troy, they appealed to an ancient custom, the sending of Virgins annually to their Minerva by the Locrians, which, they said, had commenced a little after the destruction of Troy; and to the Palladium or statue of the goddess still in their possession¹.

IV. Some curious and learned persons, offended at the growing arrogance of the Iliéans, instituted an enquiry into the foundation of their high pretensions. In reply to the assertion that their city was the same with that of Homer, they cited Homer; who declares in the *Ilias*², that his Ilium would be destroyed, and speaks of the event as accomplished in the *Odyssey*³. To prove it had disappeared, they produced also the testimony of later authors; one, Lycurgus the Athenian, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who teaching in an oration⁴ (*still extant*) that the overthrow of a city is its death, asks, “Who has not heard of Troy, how that, after becoming the greatest of the cities of its time and the principal of all Asia, it continues always uninhabited, having been once subverted by the Greeks?” They supposed the people who could have restored it to have regarded the site as ill-omened; either on account of the calamities suffered on it, or of the curses

¹ Strabo, p. 600, 601.

² *Æ*. 448.

³ *Æ*. 328.

⁴ Against Leocrates.

uttered, according to antient custom, by Agamemnon against any who should afterwards inclose it within a wall; and therefore to have left that place, and to have walled the other. "Before then, continues Strabo, Astypalæensians¹, they retaining the Rhœtéum, co-inhabited, toward the Simois, Polium, which is now called Polisma, and which, being an insecure place, was soon demolished; but the present settlement was made, and temple founded, under the Lydians; and it was not a city until a long time after, but increased, as we have said, by little and little; albeit Hellanicius, to gratify the Iliæans, as his manner is, agrees in this, that the present city is the same as Troy: but, as for the country of the non-apparent city, the people who had Sigéum and Rhœtéum divided it, and, as happened to either, that of the other neighbouring places; and gave it back on its having been re-edified²." "Some, he says, relate, that the city, after having changed its place several times, remained where it is, chiefly in obedience to an oracle³. But Troy, which lay a heap of ruins, was resorted to on the departure of the Greeks, for materials to be used in repairing the circumjacent places, which had only been damaged, and in building, as at Sigéum and Achilæum; until they were all removed, and no vestige of the city is left⁴."

¹ P. 601. *Ἀστυπαλαίαι*. An island called Astypalæa is mentioned p. 488. Their city was free under the Romans. *Pliny*. Mr. Villoison found there inscriptions, one containing a treaty made with them by the Roman Republic. *Homer. Prolegomena*, p. LV.

² Strabo, p. 602. See Comment.

³ P. 593.

⁴ P. 599.

V. The story of the violation of the chastity of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, by Ajax Oïleus, in the temple and in the presence of Minerva at Troy, and of the wrath of the goddess on that account, though of great antiquity, is not, as Strabo¹ has remarked, founded on Homer; who represents the deity, not as angry with the Locrians in particular for any misbehaviour of their leader, but with the Greeks in general as having been deficient in their respect to her temple.

The Locrians, it is related, suffered from the plague or pestilence, the outrage committed by their chief being avenged on the people, in the third year after the taking of Troy. On consulting the oracle of Apollo, they received for answer, that the goddess must be appeased by their sending to her annually, for a certain time, two Locrian virgins, to be chosen by lot; and, such was their superstition, that they not only resolved then to comply with the requisition, but continued their obedience for a term of years hardly credible.

It was the business of these devoted females to take care of the temple of Minerva at Ilium, to keep it clean, and, in particular, to sweep round about the altar early in the morning; and this they did without their upper garment, with their feet naked like servant-maids, and with their heads bare, even if labouring under the burthen of old age².

¹ P. 60. and see Comment.

² Plutarch, *De Sera Numinis Vind.* p. 52, edit. Wytttenbach.

Polybius, who had frequently visited the very antient colony of Locrians settled in Italy, of which some mention has been already made, declaring, that their customs and traditions were more conformable to the account given of them by Aristotle than by Timæus, relates, as their own information, that nobility of ancestry was derived among them, not through the males but females; of whom those only were reputed noble who deduced their origin from the hundred families which were noble before their migration, and from which the Locrians who remained behind in their country were about to chuse by lot the virgins to be sent, as the Oracle had directed, into Ilium¹.

The Iliéans, retaining their old enmity to the Locrians, as having made part of the army of Agamemnon, endeavoured to deprive them of the benefit of a reconciliation with the goddess, by precluding, as much as was in their power, their access to her temple; way-laying, and, it is said, even killing the women, as often as they could, to compel the Locrians to send other victims.

Æneas, the very antient writer on Tactics, whom we have before cited², instances, in his remarks on the difficulty of hindering the introduction of a thing into a city by crafty management, these Locrian females, “which, says he, the people about Ilium, for so long a time and so disposed, have not been able with all their study and vigilance to keep from entering; but a

¹ L. XII. “*Illas centum virgines.*” “From which an *hundred* virgins were taken by lot.” Latin interpreter and Hampton’s Polybius, v. II. p. 367. See Bayle, *Cassandra*.

² P. 65.

few taking heed not to be detected, are not detected in bringing in many bodies; and this same purpose has been heretofore effected by some like means¹."

The duration of this expiatory offering was, most unreasonably, extended by Apollo to a thousand years. Æneas, who, it is to be observed, has mentioned one or more transactions as late as the hundred and tenth Olympiad, speaks of the usage as subsisting in his time; and, from various authors, it appears to have been continued for the term prescribed². That an Oracle should have ventured to impose such a punishment for an offence so circumstanced may seem incredible. That a people so distant from Ilium should have obeyed it at all, much more that they should have persevered for so many centuries in the observance of such an ordinance, may, especially in persons not acquainted with the supremacy of the power of superstition, excite wonder. But, extraordinary as it may be deemed, the custom, if not its occasion, was incontrovertible; and the opponents of the Iliæans, in this article, had no other resource but to detract from its high antiquity, by affirming that it began when the Persians were masters of the country³.

VI. Fable had ascribed a divine origin to the Palladium of Troy. Ilus, it is related, was directed by an Oracle to follow a pied heifer, and to build his city where she rested; and, this happening on a hill called that of the Phrygian Até, he

¹ V. II. p. 1704.

² See Casaubon on Æneas. Bayle in *Cassandra*.

³ Strabo, p. 601.

prayed to Jupiter to grant him a farther sign; and, in the morning, found this famous image of Pallas or Minerva lying before his tent¹.

The Palladium of Troy was supposed to have had a property which is not taken notice of by Homer, and which, as we have before mentioned, was said to have been revealed by Helenus to the Greeks. It was the sure guardian of the city and people. According to Ovid², the place which should possess this treasure was rendered impregnable by it, and could not be destroyed even by any one of the Gods, if angry; on its descent from heaven, Apollo of Thymbra was consulted, and, from the obscurity of his thick grove answered, not in a counterfeit voice,

*Ætheream servate deam, servabitur urbem;
Imperium secum transferet illa loci.*

The Palladium of the Iliéans, which was said to have turned the eyes aside when Cassandra was violated in its presenee by Ajax Oïleus³, has been described⁴, as a wooden statue three cubits high, striding with the feet (an argument that it was not of the most early sculpture); and as having in the right hand an up-lifted javelin, in the left a spindle or distaff. With these attributes the goddess is seen on medals of Ilium as in motion or marching, and with the ealathus or basket (the prototype of a species of turban still in use) on her head.

¹ Apollodorus, l. 3, p. 207, by Gale:

² Fast. l. vi. v. 427.

³ Strabo, p. 264.

⁴ By Apollodorus.

It was objected to this Palladium, that it did not, like that of Rome, and some other places, represent the goddess *sitting* but *standing*; a posture which did not accord with Homer, who has signified¹ that the Trojan Minerva was *sitting*; for Hector, when he orders a procession of matrons to be made to her temple in the citadel, directs the propitiatory offering, a rich robe, *to be laid on her knees*; whereas it was usual to place the gift on the altar, when the deity was not in an attitude to receive it. This argument was more difficult to confute, than to clude; which was attempted by perverting the words from their natural, obvious, and common signification². It was further urged, that, according to Homer³, the Palladium of Troy was carried off by Diomed and Ulysses; and it was replied, that they conveyed away an image which had been substituted in its place; and that the true Palladium, which had been hidden for security soon after the commencement of the siege, had never been removed, except only to Palæscopsis by Æneas, who, after saving it from the flames, had restored it to Ilium⁴.

VII. It has been said of Homer, that “in his *Ilias* he paints and describes as one who knew every spot of ground;” and that, “after reading him, we seem to be as well acquainted with the face of the country about Troy, as if we had been there⁵.” And indeed, supposing him to record a real transaction, he had

¹ *Ilias*, §. 92.

² See Strabo, p. 600, and Comment.

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⁵ Beattie's Essays. Elogium on Homer.

no occasion, nor could he venture, to create an imaginary landscape. He had only to preserve the existing connection between the story and the spot, which happily furnished him with durable characteristics. But if the Poet has merited the encomiums bestowed on him, if while he precedes all other profane writers in antiquity, he is surpassed by none of them in local accuracy and precision, it is obvious, that the question concerning Ilium would best be decided by examining whether its site corresponded with that of Troy as described by him. The appeal was accordingly made by two of the most distinguished opponents of the Iliæan claim, Hestîæa a learned lady and grammarian of Alexandréa; and Demetrius of Scepsis; who, as inhabitants of cities distant only a few miles from the scene of the Ilias, could compare the poem with the spot at their leisure, and without fear of interruption or danger.

Hestîæa was author of an Inquiry entitled “Whether the War of Troy was carried on about the city that now is, and whether the Poet calls the plain before this city and the sea, Trojan?” This Dissertation has perished, but is cited by Demetrius; the substance of whose work, called *The Trojan Field*¹, has fortunately been preserved to us by Strabo². Their researches, especially those of Demetrius, while they illustrated the mutual agreement and harmony, which had subsisted between the country and Homer, furnished criterions for the decision of the contro-

¹ Τρωϊκὸς Ἀγρός.

² P. 598.

versy more sure than either the custom of sending the Locrian virgins to Ilium, or the boasted possession of the Palladium. But, as a detail of the particulars here would require a much longer digression than suits with our present purpose, I shall now resume and continue our history; after mention only of the hardihood of M. Chevilier, who insists, and he has been abetted by classical scholars eminent in reputation, that Demetrius has, in his topography, mistaken the river Simois for the Scamander. Reader, believe it not!

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE TRÖIA UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

- I. *Allotment of the country by the Decemvirs.*—II. *Interposition of the Iliéans in behalf of the Lycians.*—III. *Sibylline verses enquired for at Ilium.*—IV. *Minerva of Ilium and Venus of Alexandria allies of the Romans.*—V. *Treatment of Ilium by Fimbria.*—VI. *And by Sylla.*—VII. *Condition of the Tenedians.*

I. **T**HE settlement of the conquered countries was consigned by the Romans, on the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, to ten persons, called, from their number, Decemvirs¹; one of whom, the famous Titus Quintus Flaminius, was stiled *Ænecades*,

¹ Livy, l. 38, 39.

and the great leader of the Æneadae in the inscription of his offerings to Apollo at Delphi¹. These commissioners bestowed immunity on the Iliæans, and granted them Rhœtéum and Gergithum, it is related, not so much on account of any recent merits of the people, as from a remembrance of their connection with the origin of the Romans. From the same consideration they made Dardanus a free city. The remainder of the Tröia and the Chersonesus of Thrace was given to their ally king Eumenes; but came afterwards, with his other dominions, into the possession of the Romans as a bequest; according to their own interpretation of the will of one of his successors. He assisted them in their war with Perseus son of Philip king of Macedonia, whose fleet was sometime stationed at Sigéum².

II. The Iliæans were not tardy in assuming importance with their descendants. The Rhodians had by an embassy requested the Decemvirs to grant them Lycia as a recompense for their fidelity and attachment to the Roman people³. The Iliæans, on the other hand, sent two deputies⁴ to pray, by their mutual ties of relationship, that the Lycians might be pardoned their offences; and, it is likely, urged, that under Sarpedon they had been among the principal auxiliaries of Priam. The Decemvirs, after hearing, endeavoured to satisfy both parties, by not inflicting any punishment on the Lycians, but only giving them to the Rhodians.

¹ Plutarch in the Life of Flaminius.

² Livy, l. 44.

³ Polybius, p. 1177.

⁴ Hipparchus and Satyrus.

The Iliéans then boasted of their having appeased the resentment of the Romans, and told the Lycians, going about to their cities, that they had obtained their freedom ; which was contradicted by the Ambassadors. Neither the Lyeians nor Rhodians were contented, and both people applied to the Senate for its decision. The Lycians finally were not benefited to the extent of their wishes by the interposition of the Iliéans, though it appears to have been of service to them.

III. The Capitol at Rome having been consumed by fire in the Consulship of Lucius Scipio, Ilium was, on account of the antiquity of the people, one of the cities, where it was ordered by the Senate, that inquiry should be made for Sibylline verses ; to replace the Sacred Books, which had perished in the flames¹. The priests of Minerva of Ilium and the rulers were far more deficient in genius and subtlety than I suppose, if the Roman deputies were permitted to leave them empty-handed.

IV. Minerva of Ilium and Venus of Alexandréa would have misbehaved exceedingly, if, after the loving interview of the Romans with the Iliéans, they had not taken their part against Mithridates. The former Goddess interposed in favour of the gallant defenders of Cyzicus. A tempest happened and did much damage to the assailants. The same night, she appeared, it was affirmed, to several persons at Ilium, in a dream, all covered with sweat, and told them, she was just arrived from.

¹ Tacitus. Hist. 1. 3. Annal. 1. 6.

the relief of that city. A pillar was afterwards shown by the people of Ilium with an inscription recording this miracle¹. Lucullus, after the siege had been raised, being at Alexandréa, was lodged there in the temple of Venus. The Goddess, pleased, it should seem, with such an inmate, appeared, also in a dream, and said to him, “Why sleepest thou, generous Lion, when the fawns are near?” He summoned some friends to hear the relation of his vision, and, almost before he had finished, messengers arrived from Ilium to inform him that thirteen galleys belonging to Mithridates were seen passing the Port of the Achæans and steering for Lemnos². These were all taken by Lucullus, doubtless in consequence of his having been roused by the friendly Goddess.

V. When Fimbria, having obtained the command of the Roman army by mutiny and the murder of the Consul Valerius Flaccus, approached Ilium³, the people regarding him as a robber not to be admitted into the city, applied for assistance to Sylla; who, promising to come speedily in person, directed them in the mean time to declare that they had surrendered to him. Fimbria, on hearing this, commended them, as already friends of the Romans; and required, being a Roman, to be received by them; not without some irony on the relationship of the Romans with the Iliéans. For their refusal, he took, when he did enter the city, severe vengeance; killing all he met; setting it every where

¹ Plutarch in Lucullus.

² Appian in Bello Mithrid. § 223.

³ Strabo, p. 594. See Comment.

on fire; maiming the deputies who had been sent to Sylla; not sparing things sacred, or the supplicants of Minerva, but burning them all with her temple. He overthrew even the walls; and, going about on the morrow, examined whether any part of the city was left standing; but, having suffered worse, says my Author¹, who perhaps exaggerates, from one akin than from Agamemnon, it had perished, and was an area covered with ruins. Nothing of it, not a temple or image, remained. “But, continues Appian, the shrine of the Minerva², which they call the Palladium and account heaven-descended, some think, was found uninjured, beneath the fallen walls of the edifice, being sheltered by them; if indeed Diomed and Ulysses did not remove it out of Ilium at the time of the Trojan war;” and another author³ relates, what is still less likely to be credited, that the temple of Minerva itself stood entire, untouched by the surrounding flames. Such, says the former, was the treatment experienced by Ilium at the end of the Olympiad one hundred seventy three; and, as some reckoned, one thousand and fifty years after Agamemnon. Fimbria boasted, that in eleven days he had forcibly got possession by siege of a place, which that general with a thousand vessels and all Greece at his command had hardly been able to reduce in ten years; and an Iliæan replied or remarked, it was because they had then no Hector to fight for them⁴.

¹ Appian, Var. Hist. § 205. And, In Bello Mithrid.

² τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερός.

³ See Julius Obsequens, c. 116.

⁴ Strabo, p. 594.

VI. Sylla, who soon afterwards held an interview with Mithridates at Dardanus, consoled the Iliéans, on the conclusion of the war, by restoring many of their shattered buildings; and, when he settled the province of Asia, in recompense of their fighting on his side, or of their sufferings for their good will toward him, he left them free, and enrolled them friends of the Roman people¹. It was he who first introduced at Rome from Ilium the spectacle of boys exercising in troops on horseback called the Trojan game or course².

VII. The Tenedians were at this time rich, as appears from the Orations of Cicero, who pleaded for them in a cause concerning their immunities, which, says Bayle³, was determined with too much rigour against them. It is related by an historian of the Augustan age, that they had made a decree forbidding the mention of Achilles within the sacred portion of Tennes their founder, whose worship there had been transmitted down to a time not then remote⁴. It probably ceased on the removal of his beautiful image, which, Cicero informs us, the people accompanied to the sea-side with loud groans, as it was carrying away to be transported to Rome by Verres.

¹ Appian, § 211.

² Suetonius.

³ In Tenedos.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, L. v. c. 4. See also Pausanias.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE JULIAN FAMILY.

- I. *Of Ilium under Julius Cæsar.*—II. *Augustus Cæsar.*—III. *Tiberius Cæsar.*—IV. *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar.*—V. *Nero Cæsar.*—VI. *End of the Julian family.*—VII. *Decline of Ilium.*—VIII. *The Claim of the Romans to Trojan descent continued.*

THE peculiar fortune of the Iliëans reserved for them, an insignificant people, the power of vaunting, not only that their city was the mother of Rome, but, as their supreme glory, that they had furnished the parent-stock of the imperial despots, who governed both it and the subject world.

The Romans claiming Æneas for their founder, some considerable families had the vanity, as we have before stated, to trace their descent from the reputed companions of his voyage. It may well be imagined, that they had in general very little, if any, ground for their pretensions. Some conformity or resemblance of name seems to have sufficed; and the pedigree, being once promulged, was not controverted; each person desiring only the unmolested enjoyment of his own fancied ancestry. But Ascanius, son of Æneas, seems to have been called also Iulus, for the

express purpose of furnishing one family, on its rising into distinction, with a brilliant progenitor ; for the name Ascanius only is found in the Greek authors anterior to the Roman historians.

Iulus, son of Æneas, is supposed to have been adopted into the pedigree of the Julians with the surname of Cæsar, (a family one while of mean condition at Aricia, a little town near Rome) about the time when the Romans began to emerge from barbarism ; and this lineage, being recorded by their early writers, was afterwards generally allowed. But, though the origin of Julius Cæsar from the goddess Venus and Anchises the father of Æneas was admitted, the idea that he was of a race predestined to wield the sceptre of the Universe was probably suggested by the exalted station to which his ambition attained, and was propagated and more fully established under the influence of the success and policy of his crafty nephew and adopted son, Augustus.

If the Roman people be accused of foolish credulity in the article of their heaven-descended emperors, it is to be remembered, that the tale was connected with that of the arrival of Æneas in Italy, which had the sanction of the unanimous assent of their own historians ; while, that the prophesy concerning his posterity had been rightly applied, was attested as it were by the most extraordinary events, by the transcendent fortune of the Julian line, and by the widely-spread dominion which came into its possession.

I. It is remarkable that the Iliéans, not influenced by the consideration of the ancestry of Julius Cæsar, sided, in the civil war,

war, with his competitor Pompey. Either they did not then regard the Julian race as that prophesied of in Homer, or they misinterpreted and were misled by omens, in which they were great dealers '.

After the battle of Pharsalia, the conqueror, pursuing his rival into Asia, went to Ilium ; full, we are told, of admiration of the antient renown of the place, and desirous to behold the spot from which he derived his origin. His reception there must have pleased him, as he overlooked the recent default of the people ; and from magnanimity, partiality, or policy, not only forgave their offence, but proved much kinder to them even than Sylla² ; adding to their territory, and letting them retain their liberty, and their immunity from public offices. It was strongly reported, after his death, that he was about, if he had lived, to remove to Ilium or Alexandréa ; carrying away with him the riches of the empire, leaving Italy exhausted of men by

* *Iliacæ quoque signa manus, perituraque castra*

Ominibus petiere suis : nec fabula Trojæ

Continuit, Phrygiique ferens se Cæsar Iûli.

Lucan. Pharsalia, l. 3, v. 211.

From Ilium too ill-omen'd ensigns move,

Again ordained their former fate to prove ;

Their arms they range on Pompey's hapless side,

Nor sought a chief to Dardan kings allied :

Tho' tales of Troy proud Cæsar's lineage grace,

With great Æneas and the Julian race.

Rowe.

² Strabo, p. 594. See Comment.

levies, and Rome to be governed by his adherents¹. This was perhaps a tale devised to promote or accelerate the conspiracy which destroyed him; or, to render his memory odious to the people; if he was not rather indeed impressed with the idea that he was really descended from Æneas; and did not mean more completely to verify the prophesy in Homer, by actually reigning in the Tröia.

II. Augustus, ridiculously vain of his Trojan ancestors, caused them all to be represented on the temple of Mars the Avenger, which he erected at Rome². To please him and the Romans, Dionysius of Halicarnessus sullied the dignity and purity of history by labouring to prove the arrival of Æneas in Italy. The same track of adulation was pursued by the poets. Horace has frequent allusions to his Dardan origin. Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses*, hoped to obtain his favour by settling Æneas, after much wandering, in Italy; and deducing the Julian family from his son Iulus. Virgil, besides introducing this pedigree in the *Georgics*, has made it the ground-work of the *Æneis*. It is amusing to note the difficulties he struggles with in suiting to his design a story presenting so many obstacles and improbabilities, to be encountered and overcome. He exposes the absurdity of the tale, and amply confutes, while he beautifully embellishes it. The reflecting reader wonders that he is able at all to convert the

¹ Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 79. Gyllius, p. 26, c. 3.

² See Ovid, *Fast.* l. v. 565.

Trojans into Romans, and finally to establish his hero as the progenitor of Augustus in Italy.

It is the remark of a classical traveller, Mr. Chishull¹, that Virgil, who is known not to have extended his foreign tour so far, was unacquainted with the geography of Troy. But Ovid had visited Ilium, and seen the temple there, which he allows to be that of the Trojan Minerva; and the Palladium, but this he denies to be the original heavenly image, which, whether carried off by Diomed and Ulysses, by Æneas, or any one else, he affirms to be assuredly that at Rome². Maer, his tutor and the companion of his travels, was perhaps, as we have before noted, the hitherto unascertained author of *The Sequel of the Ilias*.

Júlia, daughter of Augustus, was in danger³ of being drowned in the *Seamander* in the year of Rome seven hundred thirty eight; and so angry, on the occasion, was or pretended to be her husband Agrippa, that he punished the Iliéans by fining them an hundred thousand drachms for having omitted to furnish her with guides, though she arrived without previous notice. If he had any other motive than to please his father-in-law by a show of attention to his wife, some, perhaps imaginary, failure of respect in the Iliéans, or the remembrance of their former defection from the Julian interest, might be the latent

¹ Travels, p. 63.

² Cura videre fuit: vidi templumque locumque;

Hoc superest illi, Pallada Roma tenet.

Fastorum, l. vi. v. 424.

Compare his account of the Palladium with Q. Calaber, *Paralipom.* l. x. v. 353.

³ See Bayle in *Seamander*. Note [F].

cause of the severity, for which a pretext was found in the behaviour of their river to this most infamous female, a descendant forsooth of pious Æneas.

Augustus is said to have had under consideration the rebuilding of Troy on the ancient site. Horace in a dissuatory Ode¹ introduces Juno declaring that she would not disturb the prosperity of the exiled Trojans, while the sea should continue to roll between Rome and Ilium; the herds to insult, and wild beasts to conceal their young about the place of the funeral pile of Priam or of Paris; and they abstain from attempting, what she was determined not to suffer, the restoration of Troy, the city which had belonged to their ancestors.

The Trojan Game or Course is described by Virgil². It was among the spectacles provided by Julius Cæsar for the entertainment of the public at Rome, two years before his fall³; and was very frequently exhibited under Augustus; who, we are told⁴, regarded it as ancient, seemly, and of use in displaying the genius of the young nobility. It was moreover calculated to gratify family pride, and especially imperial vanity, by its connection with Troy and with Iulus, by whom, they now said, it was first of all imported into Italy. It served the great political purpose of presenting a young heir of the empire with advantage to the general view of the people assembled in the Circus, and of ac-

¹ L. III. 3.

² See Æneis, l. v.

³ Suetonius in his Life.

⁴ Suetonius in his Life.

customing the rising generation early to respect and obey the future despot in the person of the principal leader of their troop. Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, had headed the greater boys¹ in the Trojan Course.

II. Germanicus, son of Tiberius, was desirous of being acquainted with places of antiquity and renown. He visited Ilium, and there contemplated whatever had been made venerable by vicissitude of fortune and the origin of the Romans². A Greek epigram *On the barrow of Hector*, containing an address to the hero, has been ascribed to him with much greater probability than to the Emperor Hadrian.

The funeral of Drusus, son of Tiberius, who died of poison administered by Sejanus, was remarkable for the ostentatious parade of images representing the Julian family. Æneas was followed by all the kings of Alba, by the founders of Rome, the Sabine nobility, and a very great number more of effigies, in long procession³. The Iliéans, on this occasion, sent Ambassadors to Rome; but the concern of Tiberius, who was without natural affection, had ended before their arrival. He laughed at their errand, but gave them audience, and in reply to their address, said that he, in return, condoled with the Iliéans on the loss of their excellent fellow-townsmen Hector⁴.

¹ Suetonius in his Life.

² Tacitus, Annal. l. 2, c. 54.

³ Tacitus, Annal. l. 4, c. 9.

⁴ Suetonius in his Life.

Eleven cities contended for the honour of possessing a temple, which the Community of Asia had decreed to be dedicated to the god Tiberius. This human deity was frequently present, and for several days attentively listened in person to the pleadings of the ambassadors in behalf of their constituents, before the Roman Senate; to which the question, as one of mighty importance, was referred¹. What an employment for that once august assembly! The Iliëans urged that their city was the parent of Rome; but, being strong only in the glory of antiquity, were set aside, with other competitors, as unequal to the burthen of the edifice.

IV. Claudius Cæsar, besides chariot-races and other diversions, entertained the people of Rome with The Trojan Course; which had also been frequently exhibited by his predecessor Caligula. The leaders were his son Britannicus, and Lucius Domitius; the latter, a noble youth who had constantly appeared in this pastime even while of a tender age, before mature boyhood, and had always been well received, but was now so much applauded by the assembly, in the presenee of the Emperor sitting in the Circus, that their favour was regarded as a sure presage of his future greatness. He was soon after adopted by Claudius, and surnamed Nero².

A body of cavalry, in the army of this Emperor, composed of Dardani, a people of Mœsia, was incited to a signal display of

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.* l. IV. c. 55.

² Suetonius in Claudius, c. 21. Nero, c. 7. Tacitus, *Annal.* l. II. c. 2.

valour by his appearing to boast of his origin as from them; though others said that he was a Dardanian from the Ilium of the Trojans (so described to distinguish it from an Ilium, more known for the name than as a town¹, on the borders of Macædonia), and even a descendant of their king Dardanus²; and as such, it may be presumed, he was complimented, when he sat as Consul in the forum at Rome to hear the pleadings of Nero.

V. At the age of sixteen, Nero, that he might shine early as an advocate and scholar, was admitted to the bar. He had undertaken two causes, which afforded him an opportunity of displaying his oratory in both the Greek and Latin language. He spoke in Greek in behalf of the Iliæans; who, to furnish the boy with an easy theme for his declamation, had probably been instructed to solicit, on this occasion, some new favour or some extension of their privileges. After recounting with eloquence the Trojan origin of the Roman people, the descent of the Julian family from Æneas, and other antient matters bordering, says the historian³, on fable, he requested for his clients, and doubtless it was pre-determined that he should not be refused, an exemption from every kind of public impost. It was then, I suppose, that a Greek Epistle of the Senate and People of Rome, a palpable forgery it should seem, was read, promising to King Seleucus their friendship and alliance on condition that he would preserve

¹ Livy, l. 31.

² Trebellius Pollio, in Claudius, p. 814.

³ Tacitus, Annal. l. XII, c. 58. See note.

to these their kinsmen the like immunity; and that Claudius remitted their tribute to the Iliæans for ever as authors of the Roman race¹.

Nero, having, while a youth, sailed from Scyros to Rome, is contrasted in a complimentary Greek epigram with Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, who went from that island to Troy. After he was Emperor, he set fire to Rome, that, under its image, he might behold the burning of Troy². During the conflagration, he chanted, in the habit of an actor, a play called *The Destruction*³; and was filled with extasy at the terrible grandeur and beauty of the spectacle.

The poisoning of Agrippina was the occasion of a sarcastic epigram, which appeared at Rome, alluding to the story of Æneas, who was said to have borne away Anchises on his shoulders, from Troy, when the city was sacked.

Quis neget Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?

*Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*⁴.

Who will deny that from the hero,

Æneas, is descended Nero?

One *took* his father *off*; and th' other,

Nero, has *taken off* his mother.

¹ Suetonius in his Life.

² Tacitus. Eusebius. Eutropius.

³ Τῆς Ἀλυσίης, probably that of Sophocles, entitled Ἡ Ἀλυσίς τῆς Ἰλίου, mentioned by Strabo, p. 608.

⁴ Suetonius in Nero, c. 39.

VI. The Cæsars, it may well be imagined, had possessed an anxious desire of children. It behoved them, and it was a matter of no trivial importance, to provide heirs to support a most antient prediction by receiving in their turns the empire of the Universe. But they were unable, with all their solieitude, to maintain the series required, and it met with frequent interruption. They so generally failed of offspring from their marriages, that the throne was never filled by three following generations; and thrice only did a son succeed to his father¹. The worthless, as well as fictitious, line, after continuing an hundred years from Julius Cæsar, upheld with difficulty by the supplementary aid of adoptions and divorces, had a fit ending in the detestable tyrant Nero.

VII. The Iliéans, when no longer distinguished and upheld by imperial favour and partiality, experienced a rapid decline; though they still retained the reecommodation of antient fame and of acknowleged consanguinity with the Roman people. A lodgement of soil on the coast before their city, which was continually removing them farther from the sea, and which, by gradually choking up their port, threatened them with its entire loss, may, together with another circumstance of situation, the vicinity of stagnant waters, which could not fail of producing epidemical diseases by their insalubrious exhalations at certain seasons, be considered as accounting sufficiently for the decay of a place ever of far greater celebrity than real consequence.

¹ Gibbon.

VIII. We are delivered, after the extinction of the Julian line, from the nausea of flattery to the emperors as the progeny of Æneas; and the people of Rome recovered from the paroxysm, though they were not perfectly cured, of their Trojan folly. Juvenal, at no great distance of time, sneered at the vanity of this race of tyrants, and derided their mock ancestry; as well as the far-fetched progenitors of the thievish rabble of Romulus. The present existence of any genuine descendants from the old citizens of Rome may be called in question; but it deserves to be mentioned here, that, among their successors, though Ilium be no more, the antient tradition of their origin either has continued without interruption or been long ago revived; and that a tumultuous assembly of the Roman populace lately stiled themselves, *Sanguē di Troja*.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ILIUM AND THE TRÖIA IN THE TIME OF STRABO.

STRABO is supposed not to have ceased writing before the eleventh or twelfth year of the Emperor Tiberius¹. He has related the arrival of Æneas in Italy², and announced, as we have seen, a greater notoriety in the descent of the God [Julius]

¹ Casaubon, de Strabone. See Comment.

² P. 108.

Cæsar from him than in the affinity of Alexander the Great to the Iliéans; but, on the other hand, he has observed that the common reports about Æneas did not agree with the account given of the founders of New Scepsis by Demetrius; and that Homer accorded neither with the current stories concerning Æneas, nor with Demetrius; but signified that Æneas had remained in the Troas, succeeded to the kingdom, and transmitted it to the sons of his sons, the family of Priam being extinct; so that the succession of Scamandrius, son of Hector, could not be supported; and much more did he differ from others, who said that Æneas had wandered as far as Italy and ended his life in that country.

The Iliéans, Strabo informs us¹, continued then to enjoy the benefits conferred on them by the God Cæsar; and possessed the sea-coast as far as Dardanus, which, reckoning with him sixty or seventy stadia² from Sigéum to Rhœtéum, and with Pliny seventy stadia from Rhœtéum to Dardanus, was an extent of about two hundred stadia³. But Sigéum is not mentioned as their boundary on that side. The identity of the city of the Iliéans with Troy was disputed, as we have shown, soon after they had received the kisses and embraces of Roman consanguinity. They still not only continued their old claim, but, fond of glory, urged it so arrogantly, eagerly, and with so much perseverance, as to have

¹ P. 594, 595.

² Seven miles and a half, or eight miles and three quarters.

³ Twenty five miles.

rendered it then a common topic of conversation and discussion; and they were not without a party on their side¹. The barrows mentioned by Homer, those of Ilus and Æsyetes, the Batieia, and Callicolone were still extant. The Grove of Hector was conspicuous. Achilléum by the Sigéan Cape was a small place, at which remained the temple of Achilles, and the monuments of that hero and Patroclus, and of Antilochus son of Nestor. At Æantéum on the opposite side of the bay, near the Rhœtéan Cape, was the barrow and temple of Ajax Telamon, as also his statue, which had been transported into Egypt by Marc Antony, who, to gratify Cleopatra, removed the offerings of greatest beauty from the most celebrated temples; but which Augustus, who returned his other pillage to the gods, had restored to the people of Rhœtéum².

The Iliéans continued to perform the customary rites to the Greek heroes, but did not honour Hercules, because, as they alleged, he had laid Troy waste. Strabo observes³, "One might say that he so laid it waste as to leave it to future destroyers in a bad condition, it is true, but yet a city; deprived of inhabitants, but not made to disappear; while they, to whom the Iliéans think it fitting to perform rites and to do honour as to gods, made it entirely disappear; unless they give as the reason, that these waged a just war, he an unjust one, *for the horses of Laomedon*;

¹ P. 593.² P. 604, 600, 595.³ P. 596.

to which again is opposed Fable, *not for the horses*, for the reward of Hesione and the Cetus. But let us, says Strabo, leave these matters; for this is to degenerate into the setting up of Fable for argument, and perhaps some more credible causes lie hid from us, which have induced the Iliéans to honour some and not others."

Sigéum was a ruined city, having been overthrown by the Iliéans, to whom it belonged, on account, it was said, of disobedience¹; but the place, being situate nearer the sea and the entrance of the Hellespont, is likely to have interfered with the commerce and consequence of its neighbour; and perhaps its tutelary goddess contributed to its destruction. Minerva of Ilium might have reason to be jealous of Minerva of Sigéum. Rhœtéum was still a city. Dardanus, of which the people had been several times removed under the kings, by some to Abydos, and by some re-instated, was a place of little consequence. Abydos remained in good condition. Sestos was the principal city of the Chersonesus². Of Madytos and Eleüs we have no account from Strabo; that part of his work having perished; but he has mentioned Protesiléon as opposite to Sigéum.

On the side of Ilium and Sigéum next Lectos, Alexandréa had increased; and, having received a Roman colony, was become one of the noble cities of the Empire. The temple of the Sminthéan Apollo remained at Chrysa, with his image, the work of

¹ P. 595, 600.

² P. 589, 595, 591.

the famous sculptor Seopas of Paros, having under its foot a mouse, a symbol preserving the etymology of his name Smintheus; which word continued in common use in the country; for about Hamaxitus itself, exclusive of the Sminthéum at the temple, two places were called Sminthia; and there were others in the territory of Larissa near it, and elsewhere¹; all, it should seem, appropriated to the keeping and breeding of holy mice for this god and his votaries. The same deity had still a temple at Tenedos, where they continued to talk of Tennes and of Cygnus, and their exploits²; and he was worshipped along the coast from Tenedos to Lesbos principally under this title, or that of Gryneus denoting presidency over hogs, or some like appellation; which may appear sufficiently to degrade *far-darting* Phœbus; yet he and Hereules had names still more unworthy of them, not taken even from quadrupeds, but from mean insects and reptiles³. Of the cities of Mount Ida, Seepsis was still worthy of notice.

The state of the Tröia in general was such as might be expected from the removal of the people into Ilium and Alexandréa by Antigonus and Lysimæhus; and from other, as well previous as subsequent, contingencies. It is characterised by Strabo as left in ruins and a desert; but yet, from its great renown, furnishing much, and that not common, matter for a writer⁴. He bespeaks pardon for being prolix in treating of it; and ad-

¹ P. 604.

² P. 618, p. 604. See Comment.

³ See p. 613.

⁴ See p. 565, 581.

monishes his reader, not to impute it more to him, than to the eager desire of being acquainted with famous and antient places, which possessed some persons whom he wished to gratify. We may suppose this paragraph written in the life-time of Germanicus son of Tiberius.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MENTION OF THE TRÖIA.

I. *By Cornelius Severus.* II. *By Lucan.*

I. CORNELIUS Severus, a Latin poet and traveller who is mentioned by Seneca tutor of Nero under whom he lived; relates, that he had admired the reliques of Troy, Pergamum, and its extinet Phrygians (probably images shown at Ilium), principally Hector; and had seen there the barrow of this famous General; and that there layed swift Achilles, and the conquered avenger of the great Hector, Paris.

II. Lucan, nephew of Seneca, was a native of Spain, educated, where he lived, at Rome. He has enlarged in his *Pharsalia* ¹ on the visit of Julius Cæsar to Troy, which he distinguishes from Ilium; and has given a connected and pointed detail of local objects, evidently not the result of travel. Nero was offended perhaps with his manner of relating this incident, or with other passages of his poem, in which he has spoken of the fable

¹ L. IX. v. 961.

of Troy¹, or of the assumed ancestry of Cæsar. The young poet, disgusted at his neglect, gave fresh provocation; and was put to death by the tyrant. I subjoin, without comment, the descriptive verses referred to, with Rowe's translation.

Cæsar arrives in the Hellespont.

- Sigæasque petit famæ mirator arenas,
Et Simoentis aquas, et Grajo nobile busto
Rhætione, et multum debentes vatibus umbras.
Circuit exustæ nomen memorabile Trojæ,
v. 965. Magnaque Phœbæi quærit vestigia muri.
Jam silvæ steriles, et putres robore trunci
Assaraci pressère domos, et templa deorum
Jam lassa radice tenent: ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis: etiam periëre ruinæ.
970. Aspicit Hesiones scopulos, silvasque latentes,
Anchisæ thalamos; quo iudex sederit antro:
Unde puer raptus cælo: quo vertice Nais
Luserit Ænone: nullum est sine nomine saxum.
Inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum
975. Transierat, qui Xanthus erat: securus in alto.
Gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incolæ manas:
Hectoreos calcare vetat: discussa jacebant
Saxa, nec ullius faciem servantia sacri;
Hercæas, monstrator ait, non respicis aras?
980. O sacer —*

¹ See l. III. v. 211. l. VI. v. 48; where we are told in the Notes that the walls of Troy were XL mill. pass. in circuit. Edit. Var. 1669.

V. 968. Var. Lect. laxa, lapsa. Mr. Wood for *Jam lassa* reads *Implicita*.

V. 998. Some copies have before this verse, *Constituam sparsas acies, repleto ruinas.*

*Ut ducis implevit visus veneranda vetustas,
 Erexit subitas congestu cespitis aras,
 Votaque thuricremos non irrita fudit in ignes.
 Dii cinerum, Phrygiæ colitis quicunque ruinas,
 Æneæque mei, quos nunc Lavinia sedes
 Servat et Alba lares, et quorum lucet in aris
 Ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique aspecta virorum
 Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo,
 Gentis Iuleæ vestris clarissimus aris
 Dat pia thura nepos, et vos in sede priori
 Ritè vocat : date felices in cætera cursus :
 Restituam populos, grata vice mœnia reddent
 Ansonide Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent.
 Sic fatus, repetit classes —*

TRANSLATION.

From hence the curious victor passing o'er,
 Admiring, sought the fam'd Sigæan shore.
 There might he tombs of Grecian chiefs behold,
 Renown'd in sacred verse by bards of old.
 There the long ruins of the walls appear'd,
 Once by great Neptune, and Apollo, rear'd :
 There stood old Troy, a venerable name ;
 For ever consecrate to deathless fame.
 Now blasted mossy trunks with branches scar,
 Brambles and weeds, a loathsome forest rear ;
 Where once in palaces of regal state,
 Old Priam, and the Trojan princes, sate ;
 Where temples once, on lofty columns borne,
 Majestic did the wealthy town adorn,

THE HISTORY OF

All rude, all waste and desolate is laid,
 And ev'n the ruin'd Ruins are decay'd.
 Here Cæsar did each storied place survey,
 Here saw the rock, where, Neptune to obey,
 Hesione was bound the Monster's prey.
 Here in the covert of a secret grove
 The blest Anchises clasp'd the Queen of love :
 Here fair CEnone play'd, here stood the cave
 Where Paris once the fatal judgement gave ;
 Here lovely Ganymede to heav'n was borne ;
 Each rock, and ev'ry tree, recording tales adorn.
 Here all that does of Xanthus' stream remain,
 Creeps a small brook along the dusty plain.
 While careless and securely on they pass,
 The Phrygian guide forbids to press the grass ;
 This place, he said, for ever sacred keep,
 For here the sacred bones of Hector sleep.
 Then warns him to observe, where, rudely cast,
 Disjointed stones lay broken and defac'd :
 Here his last fate, he cries, did Priam prove ;
 Here on this altar of Hercéan Jove.

Oh Poesie divine !——

When long the Chief his wondering eyes had cast,
 On antient monuments of ages past,
 Of living turf an altar strait he made,
 Thence on the fire rich gums and incense laid,
 And thus, successful in his vows, he pray'd.
 Ye Shades divine ! who keep this sacred place,
 And thou, Æneas, author of my race,
 Ye Pow'rs, whoe'er from burning Troy did come,
 Domestic Gods of Alba, and of Rome,

Who

Who still preserve your ruin'd country's name,
 And on your altars guard the Phrygian flame ;
 And thou, bright Maid, who art to men deuy'd,
 Pallas, who dost thy sacred pledge confide
 To Rome, and in her inmost temple hide ;
 Hear, and auspicious to my vows incline,
 To me, the greatest of the Julian line:
 Prosper my future ways ; and lo ! I vow
 Your antient state and honours to bestow ;
 Ausonian hands shall Phrygian walls restore,
 And Rome repay, what Troy conferr'd before.
 He said, and hasted to his fleet away,
 Swift to repair the loss of this delay..

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXTRACTS FROM PLINY THE ELDER.

PLINY the Elder, who lived under Vespasian, has given an abstract of the geography of the Tröia and Chersonesus ; which, under the following Emperor, was abridged and rendered yet more jejune by Julius Solinus. After remarking, that of certain rivers, which descended from Mount Ida and are named in Homer, there were then no vestiges, he adds¹, “ There is, however, even now, a small Seamandrian people, and—an

¹ L. 5, c. 33.

Ilium, a free city, whence all their renown." But this once famous place seems to have become now neglected and forlorn. The Emperor Vespasian crossed the Hellespont to Abydos; and I find no mention of his having, though so near, vouchsafed to visit it.

"The oaks on the tomb of Ilus near the city of the Iliensians, it is Pliny who relates this, are said to have been then sown when it began to be called Ilium." Theophrastus, whom we have before cited as mentioning these trees, calls them beeches¹, a species of the oak²; and has alluded to the tradition of their antiquity. The reader here will observe, that they were not reputed to be co-æval with Troy, but with the barrow, the Ilion; a Latin termination being substituted in Pliny for the Greek, as in various other names of places, in which it is not liable, as in the instance before us, to mislead. Trees of so long standing might not unaptly be described by a poet as having their root weary³. No notice is taken of this barrow after Pliny.

Several of the places, which we have mentioned in the Tröia, were become extinct. "There has been, says Pliny, Aehilléum, a town near the tomb of Achilles built by the Mitylenéans, and afterwards by the Athenians, where his fleet had stood by Sigéum. There has been Æantium too, built by the Rhodians at the corner [*of the bay*], Ajax being there buried—and there having been the station of his fleet." Palæscepsis, Gergithos, Neandros.

¹ L. iv. c. 14.

² L. iv. c. 9, 10.

³ Lucan, l. ix. v. 968. Perhaps for *robore* we should read *robora*, *Oaks*, v. 966.

and Colone had perished. Dardanus was still a small town. There *had been* a Larissa and a Chrysa. The Sminthéan temple and Hamaxitus remained. He mentions Troas Alexandria, a Roman colony; but this city too was on the decline; as, in another place¹, he says, “Very many mice come forth at Troas, insomuch that now they have driven the inhabitants away from thence.” The folly of the devotees of Apollo Smintheus, who held this noxious little quadruped in veneration; and the plenty of salt near Leetos, if the females became, as Pliny tells us they were thought to do, pregnant on tasting that mineral, will sufficiently account for the multitudes, which, from prevailing about Chrysa, finally overran the adjacent country..

I shall take another opportunity to consider the brief account of the Hellespontic coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace given by this author; but one article may be noticed here. “There are, over-against the city of the Iliensians, near the Hellespont, on the sepulchre of Protesilaus, trees, which, from early ages, after growing so high as to behold Ilium, wither and shoot up again².” The author, it has been observed on this passage, does not say that the trees on the barrow died entirely, but only their tops; an incident common to all, especially large, trees; which, getting old, begin to decay above, and last a considerable time with their branches there dry and naked of leaves.

After Pliny we have but scanty materials for continuing our subject.

¹ L. x., § 85.

² L. 16. §. 88.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

I. *Notices from DiChrysostom.*—II. *Lucian.*—III. *Pausanias.*—
IV. *Ælian.*—V. *Maximus Tyrius.*—VI. *Flavius Philostratus.*

I. **D**IO Chrysostom maintained, under Trajan, that Troy was not taken by the Greeks, but that they were vanquished; also, as Mr. Bryant has lately done, that the story of the siege was a mere fable. He did not spare, he reprobated, the whole of the divine poetry of Homer. But he was not serious, and his declamation¹, addressed to the Iliéans, is regarded only as a *jeu d'esprit*; the author having, it has been remarked, contradicted his own arguments, and, in some other of his Orations², bestowed the highest encomiums on the poet.

II. Lucian, in one of his Dialogues introduces Charon as visiting this upper region in company with Mercury; who, on his quoting Homer, undertakes to show him the barrow of Achilles. “There, says he, you see it by the sea. That is the Sigéum. But Ajax has been buried opposite to him by the Rhœtéum³.” Charon, not finding the barrows such as from the renown of the heroes he had been led to expect, remarks, “they are not large;” and desires to be shown certain illustrious cities, about which they heard a great deal below, and especially Ilium; for he remembered to have ferried many over from thence, so as neither to have drawn ashore or thoroughly dried his wherry for ten

¹ Orat. xi.

² See Fabretti ad Tabellam Iliadis, p. 379.

³ *Χαῖρος*, c. 23.

whole years. Mercury answers, that he is ashamed to show them, and, above all, Ilium. *Nevertheless*, adds he, *they once were prosperous ; but now they too have perished ; for, Charon, Cities die as well as men.* Disappointed at what he saw, Charon exclaims, “ Fie, Homer, on your lofty eueomiums, and the epithets *sacred* and *spacious*, which you have bestowed on Ilium !”—In another Dialogue ¹, Momus conversing with Jupiter, observes, that at Ilium the people sacrificed to Hector ; and, in the opposite Chersonesus, to Protesilaus.

III. Pausanias lived under the Emperor Hadrian, who was a great traveller, but was not likely to bestow much attention on Ilium ; since he was an enemy to Homer, and endeavoured to suppress his poems, and to substitute those of an obscure writer ² in their room. He mentions his having heard what was said by the Æolians, who re-peopled Ilium, about the contention for the armour of Achilles, and how his shield, on the shipwreck of Ulysses, had been carried forth by the sea opposite the barrow of Ajax Telamon ³ ; also, his having been told by a Mysian, that the waves had washed away the side of the monument next the sea, and made it not difficult to enter ; and that he might infer the size of the skeleton from that of the knee-pans, which were as big as the quoit thrown by boys in the pentathlum ⁴. The latter story implies, what Pliny and Lucian, in two passages, which have been cited, may be construed to signify, that the body of Ajax was not burned, but buried. The altar of Eury-

¹ Θίων Εκκλησια.

² Antimachus.

³ P. 24. Κατά τον τάφον τον Αιαχίδος τα ἔπλα ἐξενεχθῆναι.

⁴ P. 34.

saces was still to be seen at Athens; and the honours which had been decreed to him and his father Ajax Telamon were continued in the time of this author.

IV. Ælian¹, who repeats the story of the Cretan wanderers and their petty assailants, tells us, it was said by the people of Hamaxitus, that the word *Smintheus* was still in use among the Æolians and Trojans; that it signified *a mouse*; that these animals were bred tame for the Sminthians, and maintained at the public expense; that white ones had holes beneath the altar of their Apollo, and a mouse had stood by his tripod.

V. We are told by Maximus Tyrius², under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, that the person was pronounced fortunate, who, sailing from Europe, had been able to contemplate on the spot certain objects of curiosity, which he enumerates; and among them are the barrows at Ilium and the places on the Hellespont; also he relates³, that the abode of Achilles was in his *Sacred island*⁴; and, besides other extraordinary incidents, that he was both seen and heard there by mariners; but that Hector, as the Iliéans affirmed, remained in his own country, and *appeared*, leaping up in the plain, with lightning. By his own account he had beheld visions as incredible, though he had never seen either Achilles or Hector.

VI. We come now to Flavius Philostratus, a Sophist, the author of a Life of a famous wandering impostor, Apollonius of Tyana; and of a Dialogue entitled *Heroics*; the former compiled,

¹ Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 7.

² Dissert. XVI.

³ Ibid. XV.

⁴ Leuce.

it is supposed, about the year after Christ two hundred and ten, from materials furnished by the Empress Julia wife of Septimius Severus, and at her desire ; the latter a legendary account of the renowned personages concerned in the Trojan war, interspersed with historical and local anecdotes. He has recorded in another work, his *Lives of the Sophists* ¹, the following remarkable instance of private munificence superadded to imperial bounty. The great Athenian Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, who presided over the free cities of Asia, seeing Troas, (so Alexandréa is commonly called under the Romans,) destitute of commodious baths and of water, except such as was procured from muddy wells or reservoirs made to receive rain, wrote to the Emperor Hadrian, requesting him not to suffer an antient and maritime city to be destroyed by drought, but to bestow on it three hundred myriads of drachms for water ; especially as he had given far greater sums even to villages. The Emperor readily complied with his desire, appointed him the overseer ; and he expended on the undertaking more than seven hundred myriads ². It being represented as a grievance, that the tribute from five hundred cities had been lavished on one in an aquæduct, and Hadrian blaming the management of Herodes to his father Julius Atticus, he beseeched him not to be displeased, for that, the estimate having fallen short, he had made up the deficiency by a donation to his son, who had presented it to the city.—The life of Apollonius and the *Heroics* will each afford us matter for a distinct Chapter.

¹ P. 547.

² Five hundred myriads amount to 161,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *English.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

I. Passes the night at the barrow of Achilles.—II. Discovers the barrow and image of Palamedes.—III. His interview with Achilles.

I. **A**POLLONIUS arrived, as the writer of his Life relates¹, when Nero was Emperor, in the country of Ilium; and, after talking much about the Heroes, went, replete with archæology, to visit the monuments of the Greeks there; at which he made many offerings of things without blood, he being a Pythagorean.

On his bidding his companions, in the evening, to go to their boat, while he passed the night alone at the barrow of Achilles, they endeavoured to dissuade him; affirming that the hero still appeared, and was dreadful to behold; and that this was the common belief of the people of Ilium. He replied, that the Trojans indeed saw Achilles armed with his shield, and with the crest of his helmet nodding terribly; but that he, who was no way connected with Ilium, hoped to find him gentle and to hold agreeable converse with him.

¹ L. iv. c. III, IV. V.

On his return at the dawn of day, he enquired for a youth of Paros, who was one of his followers; and asked him, if he was not somehow connected by relationship with Troy. On his answering that he was remotely a Trojan, and of the family of Priam, Apollonius declared that he was required by Achilles to dismiss him for that very reason, and because he was continually extolling Hector.

II. The wind, when it was day and they were about to depart, blowing from the land, a number of persons, it being now autumn and the sea not free from danger, crowded to the shore, desirous of sailing with Apollonius as their safe-guard; and he, seeing a larger boat, for there were many by Æantéum, embarked with them in it; and, having passed the Cape of the Troas¹, bade the man at the helm to steer for Æolia; saying, that Achilles had revealed to him the place where he should find the barrow and image of the hero Palamedes. This was a Greek warrior of great renown for extraordinary talents and for curious and useful inventions, who was said to have fallen a victim to the intrigues and jealousy of Ulysses prior to the commencement of the Ilias.

On the near approach of the boat to the shore, they all leaped eagerly out of it; but Apollonius first discovered the monument, which was on the confines of the Æolis and Troas, where, our author tells us, the funeral of Palamedes had been solemnized by

¹ Lectos.

Ajax Telamon and Achilles. He set up again the image, which was buried in the ground, and, after bestowing other marks of attention on the spot and praying to the hero, departed. His biographer, who declares that he had seen the statue, and that the people of the circumjacent country continued to assemble there in honour of Palamedes, gives particular directions¹ for finding the place; where a barrow, and some remains of the very antient edifice, which he describes as near it, may probably be still visible; though the story of Palamedes is reprobated as a post-Homeric fiction in Strabo².

III. Apollonius, proceeding on his voyage toward Eubœa, the water being smooth and the weather fair, was requested, we are told, by the company in the boat to give them an account of his interview with Achilles; when he related, that on his addressing and requiring him to *appear*, the barrow quaked, and the hero rose out of it; a young man, five cubits high, wearing a Thessalian mantle, his beauty beyond all description; that, as he gazed on him, his statue increased to twelve cubits, and he became larger and handsomer in proportion; that, speaking, he declared his satisfaction at their meeting; that he had long wanted such a person; that—but the business of the Ghost with Apollonius requires some previous explanation.

The Oracle at Dodona, if, as Philostratus relates³, it enjoined the performance of certain solemn rites by the Thessalians at the

¹ C. IV. Heroics, p. 691.

² P. 368.

³ Heroics, p. 717.

barrow of Achilles, was, at the time, under the influence of his son Pyrrhus; who, it has been already mentioned, settled, after his return from Troy, a colony in Epirus; or under that of some of the Pyrrhidæ his descendants; for Supreme Father Jupiter, as well as his son Apollo, was subject to the controul of earthly potentates, and often advanced the worldly interest and reputation of his temple or rather of his priests, by receiving their directions, and answering according to their pleasure.

It was usual for the embassy, sent to the Troas, on this errand, to go on board a vessel, which, on its departure from Thessaly hoisted black sails. The fourteen Theori or Ministers, of which it consisted, took with them a black and a white bull; wood from Mount Pelion; fire; liquors for libations; water of the river Sperchius; and, to decorate the barrow of Achilles, garlands or crowns of amaranth, which, if the voyage proved long, still preserved their beauty uninjured by the sun or wind. It behoved them to arrive in the night; and, before their landing, to sing an hymn to Thetis, which has been thus translated by the late Mr. Merrick:

Peléan Thetis, blue-eyed fair,
Thy womb the great Achilles bare†
Of whom what mortal nature gave
In Ilion's confines found a grave:
But what from thee of heavenly strain
He drew, beneath the hoary main

Resides.

Resides ¹. Rise thence, O Goddess, rise;
 To this high hill with streaming eyes
 Achilles on the sacred pyre
 Extended bring, and, while the fire
 The victims feed, our sorrows share,
 Peléan Thetis, blue-ey'd Fair.

This done, the company approached the barrow, each person rattling with a spear on a shield; and, after howling in concert, ran with measured paces round it, and invoked Achilles. They then crowned the top with flowers, and, digging trenches to receive the blood, sacrificed at it the black bull to Achilles, as defunct; inviting Patroclus to partake with him. These rites and the offerings ended, they went down to their vessel, where they sacrificed the white bull to Achilles as a God. They embarked again about day-break, with the carease; to avoid feasting on an hostile shore.

This, according to my author, antient and solemn institution had ceased on the extinction of the line of the *Æacidæ* in Thessaly; where the people had been so much offended at the behaviour of Achilles in the battle of Salamis ², when they had sided with the Persians, that they gradually withdrew all respect from him. But Alexander the Great having claimed a connection with their nation through the *Æacidæ* ³, having enslaved the rest of Thessaly but given back Phthia to Achilles, and having in the

¹ *Or, Survives. MS.*

² See p. 49.

³ Justin, l. XI. 3.

Troia made him the companion of his war with the Persians, the Thessalians turned again to Achilles; their cavalry, all that Alexander had brought from Thessaly, went in parade round about his barrow, where they exhibited a mock engagement; prayed and sacrificed to him; and besought him, with Balius and Xanthus his steeds, to go against Darius, calling aloud from their horses. Afterwards, when Darius was taken prisoner and Alexander was in India, the Thessalians jointly sent offerings, with a black lamb, to Achilles; but, their messengers landing and going away in the day-time, and neglecting to observe the antient ritual, he had destroyed their harvests and punished them with various calamities; though it should seem to little purpose; for—but we now return to the narrative of Apollonius.

Achilles, as he relates, told him that the Thessalians had for many years withheld their accustomed offerings; that they would perish, if he deigned to be angry with them, faster than the Greeks had done before Troy; that he wished to admonish them to atone for their injurious treatment of him; that even the Trojans, of whom he had destroyed such numbers, endeavoured to make him their friend, by public sacrifices, by presents of first fruits, and by supplication; but in vain, for he continued as much their enemy, as if the city had been taken only the day before; that he was unwilling to be a foe to Greeks, and therefore appointed him to go as his Ambassador to the Thessalians, and to make remonstrances in his behalf.—The sequel of the story is, that Apollonius delivered his message at the Amphietyonic Con-

gress, that the Thessalians resolved to amend their behaviour in future, and that a Decree was passed in favour of the Ghost and barrow of Achilles.

Apollonius further declared, that Achilles had permitted him to ask, and had answered, five questions. I shall notice only one of them, to which I shall endeavour to furnish a clew; "Whether the Poets had falsified concerning his Tomb?" The ashes of Patroclus, after the burning of his body, were reserved, it appears from the *Ilias*, to be placed in one vase and under the same barrow with those of Achilles. It is but reasonable to conclude, that Homer, who has recorded what Achilles enjoined, knew or believed that he had been obeyed, and that the two friends had but one barrow. This is asserted by other writers, and in the Episode of the *Odyssey*¹ rejected as an interpolation by Aristarchus, in which Thetis, the Nereids, and Muses are introduced sorrowing over the corpse of Achilles. But the Greek poet² who has rehearsed their ditties has omitted to join the relics of Patroclus in sepulture with those of Achilles; and Strabo, in a passage, which will be considered hereafter, may be understood to countenance an opinion, that they had distinct barrows; as may also Ælian³, who speaking of the two heroes mentions that *of the one and of the other*. Achilles replies to Apollonius, that, in the article referred to, an early agreement had subsisted between him and Patroclus; that a golden amphora

¹ L. 24.

² Sequel of the *Ilias*, l. 3.

³ Var. Hist.

did indeed, as the Poets had affirmed, contain their ashes; that the Muses did not lament over him, nor had been present at his funeral; but that the Nereids still frequented the spot. A dispute on the subject may have given rise to the question, which cannot well be supposed to have been framed without some motive; Achilles is made a party in it by Philostratus, and answers as he would have him. The conference ended with his setting an example to modern Ghosts, by vanishing on hearing the cocks crow; but in a flash of mild lightning.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE HEROICS OF PHILOSTRATUS.

- I. *Of the Vineyard, Barrow, Temple and Image of Protesilaus.*—
- II. *The Vine-dresser.*—III. *Of the island Leuce, and the barrow of Achilles and Patroclus.*—IV. *Stories of the plain of Ilium.*—V. *Of Hector.*—VI. *Of Ajax Telamon.*—VII. *Plutarch cited.*

I. **T**HE scene of this Dialogue is on the sea-coast near Eleûs, opposite Ilium, by the barrow of Protesilaus, in a vineyard, which is extolled as a spot uncommonly beautiful and fertile, the stocks aptly disposed, the walks grateful, the trees tall, the rills of water various, the odour ambrosial, and the harmony of night-

ingales in the morning and evening enchanting. No wolf dared to enter it, no scorpion or venomous spider, nor even an informer. It was a place all over delicious and divine, worthy of its guardian Protesilaus.

The barrow is described as large, and as shaded with elms, which, we are told, were planted by the Nymphs; who, it was surmised, had directed, that the boughs toward Ilium should flourish soon, presently shed their leaves, and, like the mortal part of Protesilaus, perish early; while those on the other side remained alive and healthy. It was observed, if we may credit the relation, that only the trees about the barrow were thus affected; those in a garden near it thriving in all their branches.

By the barrow, it is said, were remaining a few specimens of the architectural ornaments of the temple; that, which had been insulted by the Persian Governor of Sestos, in the time of Xerxes; and which, from its basement, appeared to have been no inconsiderable structure. The hero had been represented standing on the prow of his vessel, as ready to leap on the shore; but the image was thrown down, and much disfigured by time and by devotees, who had bedaubed it with ointment and fixed their petitions on it.

II. The fictitious owner, the Vine-dresser, who is the principal speaker, courteously invites a stranger, a Phœnician merchant, to enter in; as one liberal of his grapes, figs, almonds, and pomgranates. He tells him, that he had been left an orphan, and that his estate had been taken from him, but was restored; the spectre of Protesilaus appearing to the usurper
of

of his property, and striking him blind ; that he had lived in the city, where he studied philosophy, leaving his farm to the management of servants ; that, losing by them, he had come to consult the hero, who was angry at his neglect, and, for some time, silent ; but, on his continuing to supplicate, and to declare that he was undone without his assistance, he directed him to change his garb ; that, on discovering his meaning, he had fitted himself with a leathern jacket, and, carrying about a two-forked prong, had commenced Vine-dresser ; and, forsaking the town, had prospered by agriculture ; advising with Protesilaus as his physician, whenever a tree, a lamb, or his bees ailed any thing ; and attending on him as his priest ; in the evening, pouring to him a libation of wine made from Thasian stocks, which had been set by him ; and, at noon-tide, placing before him fruits, with milk at certain seasons ; when, on his retiring, the whole was consumed in an instant. Whatever he did was *with his good Protesilaus* ; with whom he pretends to familiarity. He retails their conversation ; describes his person, his features, and his dress, which was a purple mantle or cloke fastened in the Thes-salian fashion, as on the image, which resembled him ; expresses the most ardent affection for this battered relic ; shows the foot-steps of Protesilaus ; with whose company he was favoured, when he wanted flowers for crowns, of which he was fond, or to plant, or to gather grapes ; his abode being in Hades with Lao-damia his wife, or at Phthia in Thessaly, where he had a temple and was worshipped ; affirms, that at times he hunted with his fellow.

fellow soldiers, the warriors, who were still seen shaking their crests on the plain of Troy ; and that, coming from the chace of the wild boar or stag about noon, he would sleep extended in the vineyard. He specifies the gymnastic exercises preferred by him ; asserts that he had once been oracular ; and recounts answers, which he had given to wrestlers who had consulted him ; with their success in the Olympic and Pythian Games. He relates, that the hero still cured coughs and dropsies, sore eyes, and quartern agues ; and that he was compassionate to the slighted lover, suggesting potent incantations and soft arts of persuasion ; but when a man and a woman who had conspired against her husband were standing by his altar, and swearing falsely, he had excited the dog to interrupt and bite them ; which he did in so terrible a manner that they both died. This animal is described as not fierce in general, but mild and gentle, like his old bearded master ; who, after gratifying the curiosity of his guest, dismisses him with a present of fruits to his vessel, which lay wind-bound at Eleûs ; bidding him, when he sailed, to make, as was the custom there, a libation to Protesilaus.

III. The Vine-dresser recites, on the authority of Protesilaus or of persons who had arrived in the port of Eleûs, the wonders of the Holy Island, Leuce, the abode of Achilles ; with an address to Echo, containing an eulogium on Homer, then recently composed by the hero ; who is a musician in the *Ilias* and was now become a poet. He relates, that the temple, in which his statue was, had been enriched with numerous offerings, some having inscription

scriptions in the Greek and Roman languages; and that it was usual for mariners who touched at the island to sacrifice on his altar at sun-set, and to pass the night, making fast their vessel, if the wind did not rise and enable them to pursue their voyage. But enough of Leuce. I hasten to introduce the Vine-dresser as it were pointing to the opposite coast, and saying, “ This hill, Stranger, which you see standing on the front of the shore, the assembled Greeks raised when Achilles was mingled in the barrow with Patroclus, having bestowed on himself and on him a most beautiful funeral envelope; on which account they who praise friendship celebrate him.” Further he adds, that the Greeks heaped up gold and the booty they had acquired, to be consumed with his body; repeated their presents to him, when Neoptolmus came to the camp; and, before they set sail from Troy, took leave of the barrow and Achilles¹.

IV. Of the plain there the Vine-dresser relates, that the unembodied heroes were still beheld in it by herdsmen and shepherds, who deemed the spectres ominous; portending drought, if covered with dust; floods and rain, if with sweat; and, if blood appeared on them or their weapons, they sent diseases on Ilium; but they were supposed, if seen without these tokens, to bring kindly seasons; and the hinds, from gratitude, then offered to them a lamb, or bull, a fowl, or any thing they had. The Ghosts were not all known, for they were many; differing

¹ Περὶ πινυλῶν τῇ ταφῇ, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα μνηστὴρ περὶ ἑκαλλεῖν, p. 715.

in age, and mien, and habiliments. Achilles, and the same account was given at Ilium of other heroes, both talked with some persons, and went with them, and hunted the wild beasts. They conjectured that it was he, from the beauty of his form, and from his magnitude, and from the effulgence of his armour. Behind him rolled a whirlwind, the companion of his apparition. “ My voice, says the Vine-dresser, would fail me in recounting stories of this kind ; for they sing too something about Antiochus, how an Iliéan girl, in going to the Scamander, met and became enamoured of his phantom ; and how some young herdsmen playing with dubs near the altar of Achilles, one would have killed the other with a blow of his crook, had not Patroclus interposed ; but these are matters known both from the herdsmen and from the people of Ilium ; for we mix together, dwelling on the banks of the mouth of the Hellespont, and having, as you see, made the sea a river ^{1,2}”

V. For Hector, by whose spear Protesilaus was now said to have fallen, the Vine-dresser, it may be supposed, entertains no partiality. He relates, however, that his image, set up in a conspicuous place at Ilium, was remarkable for expression and beauty, seeming to breathe, and conveying to the beholder the idea of a demi-god or some more than human being ; that it possessed a miraculous power, and conferred many benefits both on individuals and on the people ; the reason why they offered up

¹ P. 659.

prayers and sacrificed to it at their Games; when it was observed to wax warm, and to be so agitated with emulation that sweat bedewed the body. The following is among the stories told by the Vine-dresser. A young Assyrian, who came to Ilium, upbraided Hector with the chariot of Achilles, which had dragged him by the heels; with the stone cast by Ajax, which had occasioned his fainting; and with his flying before Patroclus; asserting, moreover, that it was not he, who had killed this hero; and that the image called his at Ilium, having the head bare, was not his, but one of Achilles, who made an offering of his hair at the funeral pile of Patroclus. On his leaving Ilium, before he had got ten stadia¹, a brook so inconsiderable as to be without a name swelled on a sudden; and, as his attendants, who escaped, affirmed, a huge man in armour was seen preceding, and calling loudly on, the torrent to turn into the road where the blasphemer was driving four, not tall, horses; which, with his chariot, were carried away by its violence; and he perished, calling out and promising never to offend Hector again; nor could his body afterwards be found.

VI. Two strangers belonging to a vessel which had touched at *Æantéum* were amusing themselves at *pebbles*² by the barrow of Ajax; when the hero appeared, and, standing near, desired them to leave off; for they put him in mind of Palamedes, (the reputed inventor of that play) whom he had greatly esteemed, and who

¹ A mile and a quarter.

² *Παιδιά*, p. 656.

fell, as he had done, by the machinations of their common enemy Ulysses. The game, whatever it was, for the Hon. Daines Barrington¹ has shown it not to have been Chess, is characterised as no idle diversion, but as requiring an active mind and close attention.

Ajax, having in his delirium mistaken and slaughtered some sheep for Greeks, and a ram for Ulysses, the peasants of Ilium ascribed the diseases of their cattle to his malignant agency; and would not suffer their flocks to feed near his barrow at Æantéum, fearing the herbage as of a noxious quality².

Some Trojan shepherds abused the hero, standing round his barrow, and calling him their enemy and the foe of Hector and of Troy; telling him, that he had been, and that he continued, out of his senses; and that he was a coward; one of them citing an hemistic of Homer,

Αἶας δ' ἔπει' ἐμῖνε——

Ajax no longer staid—

but, not suffering them to proceed, he cried in a loud and terrible voice from beneath the barrow,

Ἀλλὰ ἐμῖνον——

But I did stay—

and, it was said, rattled with his spear on his shield, so that they were dismayed, and fell to the ground; stood shivering with ap-

¹ See *Archæologia*, v. IX.

² P. 653.

prehension; or ran away; when he spared their lives, as suited with his magnanimity, and was content with letting them know that he had heard them ¹. A Greek epigram on this subject is extant in the Anthologia.

Another story related by the Vine-dresser, who professes to have received it from his grandfather, is apparently founded on the tale of the Mysian in Pausanias; that the barrow of Ajax, having suffered from the sea, near which it stood, had disclosed the bones of a man eleven cubits in stature; and that the Emperor Hadrian, when he visited the Troas, embraced and kissed these relics, had them arranged, and repaired the monument. The body, he tells us, was interred; the prophet Chalehas having declared that to burn it was not allowable on account of his suicide ². But enough, if not too much, of the Heroies.

VII. It remains that we conclude this Chapter by citing Plutarch ³; from whom we learn, that a plant grew in the Seamander, which, when one saw a phantom or a god, preserved him from fear, if he had it about him; a property which is likely to have produced a great demand for it in a country where visionary beings were believed so frequently to occur. It is described as resembling a species of Vetch ⁴; and, from its bearing grains which could be shaken, was called Sistrus. The botanical traveller will not neglect to look for it in or by the bed of the river.

¹ P. 682.

² P. 640.

³ Geographi Minores, v. 2. p. 26.

⁴ Erebinthus.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE EMPEROR CARACALLA.

I. He visits Ilium.—II. His extravagances there.—III. Of a statue of Achilles at Sigéum.

I. **T**HE writings of Philostratus seem to have affected and turned the head of the Emperor Caracalla son and husband of Julia. He was much addicted to the practice of arts then in vogue for raising Ghosts. He was terrified by frequent Visions, and repaired to Pergamum, hoping to obtain relief in his disorder from Æsculapius. From thence he proceeded to Ilium¹, where he viewed all the reliques of the city. He afterwards visited the barrow of Achilles, and adorned it sumptuously with crowns and garlands of flowers.

II. At Ilium, Caracalla was seized with a passion to imitate Achilles, as he had before done Alexander the Great in Macedonia. He wanted a Patroclus, whose funeral he might solemnize; when, during his stay there, Festus, his Remembrancer and favourite freedman, died; as some affirmed, of a distemper; but so opportunely, that others said he was taken off by poison for the purpose. Caracalla ordered, after the example of Achilles, a

¹ Herodian, l. 4. c. 8.

large pile of wood to be collected. The body was carried forth from the city, and placed on it, in the middle. He slew a variety of animals, as victims. He set fire to the pile; and, holding a phial in his hand and pouring a libation, as Achilles had done, invoked the winds to come and consume it. His seeking, for he was nearly bald, a lock of hair to throw into the flames created laughter; but the little which he had he cut off. He is said to have continued the farce, by allotting prizes for Games; and to have concluded it, by imagining that he had taken Troy, and distributing money among his soldiers on the occasion ¹.

III. A statue of Achilles at Sigéum, standing on a column, is noticed by Tertullian ², a learned father of the Christian Church, as representing him delicately attired, with one of his ears bored and a ring pendant at the bottom, after the manner of women; and Servius on Virgil ³ mentions, that it was said there had been a statue of him at Sigéum with this female ornament. Such a figure might correspond with the tale of his having been concealed as a girl at a boarding-school for young ladies; but was ill-suited to the character of the hero in the Ilias. It was probably the image set up by Caracalla ⁴ before his departure from Ilium, which was thus absurdly decorated.

¹ Dio fragment. Vales. p. 754. Wotton, Hist. of Rome, p. 317, 319.

² De pallio, n. 65.

³ Æneid, 1.

⁴ Wotton.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE EMPEROR GALIEN.

I. *The Tröia ravaged by the Goths.*—II. *The medals of Ilium.*

I. **AFTER** Caracalla is a gap in our story, which continues to the time of Galien; when the Roman Empire was harassed by irruptions of the Goths¹. One body of these barbarians, crossing the Strait of the Hellespont, carried desolation into the province of Asia Minor. They set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and returned to afflict Thrace, loaded with plunder and laying waste on their journey “Troy and Ilium, which, after scarcely time to take breath a little from the Agamemnonian war, are again destroyed by the sword of the enemy.” So says Jornandes², no adept, it should seem, in antient chronology. His Troy was probably Troäs. Another body, which passed down the Hellespont and sacked Athens, ravaged in their way back “the shores of Troy; whose fame, says Mr. Gibbon, immortalised by Homer, will probably survive the memory of their conquests.” No! both are alike consigned to the lasting page of History.

¹ Procopius Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 15. Trebellius Pollio, p. 719. Hist. Aug. Scriptores.

² De rebus Gothicis, c. xx.

II. The right or privilege of coining had been continued to the Iliéans under the Romans. Their medals, of which the number from distinct dies is not great, represent their Palladium, the River-god Seamander, Ganymedes, Laocoon, or, perhaps with reference to the descent of the Iulian family, Æneas making his escape from Troy with his father Anchises and his son. On the reverse is chiefly exhibited the champion of Troy drawn in a chariot by two, or, as he is described in the *Ilias*, by four horses; provoking, as it were, the Greeks to combat; with the legend, *Hector of the Iliéans* ¹. One, exceedingly rare, struck under the Emperor Maerinus, has Hector with another warrior endeavouring to drag away the naked body of Patroclus, and Ajax interposing to rescue it ². The specimens remaining in the cabinets of the curious descend to Commodus, Severus, and Geta, if not lower; that is, nearly to the æra when the practice ceased or was forbidden among the cities of the empire; of whose coinage few, if any, examples are said to occur after Galien. We have nothing to add until we come to the Emperor Constantine.

¹ ΕΚΤΩΡ ΙΛΙΕΩΝ.

² Museo C. Albani, v. 1, pl. 59. p. 119.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

I. *A sea-fight in the Hellespont.*—II. *His design to build New Rome in the Tröia.*—III. *Account given of it by Sozomenus.*—IV. *By Zozimus and Zonaras.*—V. *Its improbability.*

I. **I**N the war between the two Emperors Constantine called afterwards the Great and Licinnius, Crispus, the son of the former and his admiral, selected, on his arrival at the mouth of the Hellespont, eighty of his vessels; with which, that narrow sea not suiting a larger number, he resolved to engage the enemy; whose fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, advanced to meet him, thinking to surround him without difficulty; but was soon thrown into confusion; and, night approaching, put into the Æantian port (*that of Æantéum*), as Crispus did into that of Eleüs; but, on the following day, came forth again with a strong north wind¹. The commander then found that Crispus had been joined by the remainder of his ships, and hesitated about renewing the battle. Meanwhile, toward noon, the north wind subsiding, a strong south wind² prevailed, and forced his ships on the shore of Asia,

¹ Boreas.

² Notus.

which

which was not distant; when some were driven on rocks, and others sunk; so that five thousand men perished, and only four vessels, with the Admiral, escaped¹.

II. That Julius or Augustus Cæsar, the imaginary descendants of Æneas, full of the prophesy which entailed universal dominion in perpetuity on their family, should conceive a project to forward more fully its literal accomplishment by returning to the country from which their great ancestor was said to have migrated, and removing the seat of empire to Ilium or Troy, is less surprising, than that Constantine should adopt nearly their plan, and have resolved on building *New Rome* in the Troas, without similar motives and prejudices; if he was not influenced by the consideration that on this coast was obtained the great naval victory, which had secured the supreme power to him without a partner or competitor.

III. The best authority for the above fact, which is mentioned by several of the Byzantine writers, is, if I mistake not, that of Hermias Sozomenus; who composed an Ecclesiastical History about half a century after the name of Byzantium had been changed into that of Constantinople. He relates as follows: The emperor “having taken possession of the plain which lies before Ilium near the Hellespont, beyond the tomb of Ajax, where the Greeks, at the time when they were engaged in the expedition against Troy, are said to have had a station for their ships and

¹ Zosimus, c. 24.

tents, he there traced the outline and ground-plot of a city; and he constructed gates in a conspicuous place; which still at this day are seen at sea by those who sail along the coast. While he was employed on this undertaking, God appeared to him by night, and warned him to go in quest of another place¹,” conducted him to Byzantium, and admonished him to erect his city there and to call it by his own name.

IV. Zosimus, who lived under Theodosius the younger, relates, that, “when the Emperor came to the Troas, and to that old place Ilium, a site being found fit for building a city, he laid the foundations, and carried some part of the wall on high; which, he says, is still to be seen in sailing toward the Hellespont; but, because he grew dissatisfied with the work which he had begun, he removed, leaving it imperfect, as it was, to Byzantium.” According to Zonaras, the undertaking was recommended by an Oracle, and the promontory Sigéum was one of the places selected for the purpose, and there he was said to have laid the foundations of his new city.

V. It may be doubted whether Sozomenus, the historian first quoted, knew where the Greeks did encamp, or was acquainted with the Hellespont or the barrow of Ajax, or the plain before Ilium. Zosimus, who relates the tale after him with some variation, and Zonaras, are not to be depended on. Both were ignorant, Zonaras grossly so. Some later writers have recorded the

¹ L. ii. cited and translated by Mr. Dalzell. Note on M. Chevalier, p. 49.

same transaction without increasing its probability; and I give equal credit to the story of the commended foundation and of the heavenly vision, which prevented its progress. No sagacity was then requisite to foresee or foretell of a city about to be placed on the bay before Ilium, that it must soon be destitute of a port; and the emperor would have been as foolish in choosing such a site, as blind in neglecting the superior advantages of that of Byzantium. It was believed by the people of Constantinople that he caused the Palladium to be transported from Rome, and buried it in the market-place of that city.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

I. *Of the Tröia and Chersonesus.*—II. *Privileges of the Iliëans.*
—III. *Of Minerva of Ilium.*

I. AMMIANUS Mareellinus^{*}, an author contemporary with Julian, makes mention of Ilium, “famous for the fall of heroes;” of the tombs of Achilles and Ajax; of the towns Dardanus and Abydos; of Sestos on the opposite side of the Hellespont, and of Cynossema, “where Hecuba is believed to be buried;” of Troas; and of the temple of Apollo Smintheus.

^{*} Ilium heroicis casibus clarum, p. 307.

The Iliéans, if, under Julian, they had ceased to solicit or to obtain new favours from the Romans, were still distinguished by the enjoyment of those already conferred on them, some of which were uncommon in quality or extent. In the *Digests*, or Books of Civil Law, which were compiled by this emperor, Calistratus¹ is cited as saying, “To the Iliensians, both on account of the famous nobility of the people and of their connection with the origin of the Romans, now of old time, both by decrees of the Senate and by constitutions of the Emperors, is granted the most ample immunity, so that they may claim exemption even from wardship, to wit, of those orphans, who are not Iliensians; and that by a rescript of the god Pius,” meaning Antoninus. “To the Iliensians, says another famous lawyer, Ulpian, who was minister of Alexander Severus, it is granted, that he who is born of an Iliensian mother may be a denison;” an expedient, it should seem, devised to continue the race of townsmen and Trojans. The same privilege had been accorded and was preserved, probably for the like purpose, to the people of Delphi.

Julian opened again the heathen temples which Constantine, when he declared Christianity to be the religion of the empire, had commanded to be shut. Whether Minerva of Ilium had been removed or deprived of her honours, we are not told; but Ulpian is cited in the *Digests* as saying, she “has been capable of inheriting, or a legacy might be left to her².”

¹ Digest. ad *Municip.* in lege 17, Tit. i. p. 284, and Strabo, Comment. p. 224.

² Digest. l. 50, Tit. i. p. 1707.

CHAPTER XXXV.

I. Of the progress of Christianity.—II. The condition of the country.—III. The Chersonesus fortified and Choiredocastron erected by Justinian.—IV. Approaching change in the Tröia.

I. **T**HE attachment of the Iliéans to their favourite goddess Minerva had begun in the most remote antiquity, and was rooted and confirmed by long usage and the experience of her supposed patronage and protection for many succeeding ages. Moreover, their general practice of idolatry, which is noticed, particularly their worship of Hector and Helen, by some early Christian writers¹, was inveterate. It was easier to regulate public worship than to controul private devotion. Imperial edicts might abolish the open homage which the Iliéans had been accustomed to pay to the greater deities, as well as to Scamandër, Hector, the Grecian heroes, and the like, of inferior rank, without removing the prejudices of individuals. Paganism was no where eradicated, but by degrees; and it is uncertain how long a concealed respect and regard for objects of popular veneration, sanctified by antiquity and tradition, continued either in the Tröia or Chersonesus; but on the complete establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire we find Ilium the Sec of a bishop, which was probably en-

¹ Clemens Romanus. Athenagoras.

dowed with the possessions of Minerva; whose temple, if not then a ruin, was converted, it is likely, into his cathedral. Sigéum, which seems to have recovered in some degree its consequence, was raised to the same dignity; and both churches were under the Metropolitan of Cyzicus. Troas had also a bishop. In the Chersonesus, a Metropolitan had his seat at Madytos¹.

II. History, after the abolition of heathenism, is long silent concerning the Tröia and Chersonesus. Several of their cities, become inconsiderable before, were abandoned, died, or lingered on in gradual decay, and with their end visibly approaching. Ilium and Dardanus are among the places, which, having attained to a good or rather an extraordinary old age, perished. Of Rhœtéum or of Æantéum I have met with no mention in any antient author, if we except Sozomenus, after Constantine the Great; in whose time the port of Æantéum was become the principal, if not sole, receptacle of shipping, on the coast beneath Ilium. Alexandréa is noticed as a deserted place, by the epitomizer² of Strabo; it is supposed between the years nine hundred seventy-six and nine hundred ninety six.

III. A new wall, with a fosse, was made across the isthmus of the Chersonesus by the Emperor Justinian; and, besides other precautions, which were rendered necessary by the repeated incursions and ravages of the Goths, the Huns, and Bulgarians, he erected strong castles near Eleûs and Sestos³. One of these for-

¹ D'Anville Acad. Insc. t. 28, p. 339.

² See M. Chevalier, p. 37. Note by Mr. Dalzell.

³ Procopius, p. 36.

tresses, on which was to depend the future fate of the Chersonesus, stood on the summit of a mountain rising exceedingly abrupt above the latter place, then neglected and defenceless; was named Choirodocastron; deemed utterly inaccessible to an enemy, and from its situation impregnable¹. The fleet of Justinian under Belisarius had its station at Abydos, which was one of the few surviving cities; but of which no farther mention is made for above three centuries, except that it was besieged² between the years one thousand ninety-three and one thousand ninety-seven. I have only to add here what is related by a Byzantine historian³, that an immense treasure collected by Theodore Lascareus was re-posed for security in a fortress, opposite formerly the Seamander, and called by the diminutive, Astytzium.

IV. Troy, it has been already mentioned, was taken about eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Christian æra. The worship of the heroes lasted, if not longer, to the beginning of the third century after it. During this period, they, with the other warriors, were believed to haunt the plain where they fell; their monuments were approached with awe, and their names were familiar even to the herdsman and shepherd. A new race of people is now about to arrive in the Tröia, entirely strangers, ignorant of its antient renown, unacquainted with the names Ilium or Troy, Achilles or Ajax, Hector or Homer. These found the

¹ Procopius, l. iv. c. 10. The name may be translated *Hog-way-castle*.

² By Tzachas.

³ Georg. Pachym. p. 39, *ἐν τῇ κατὰ αὐτὸν Σκαμανδρὸν φρεσὶ τῇ ἔτι πᾶσι Ἀγνῶστῳ ὑποκοριζομένη.*

cities, except Abydos, in ruins; and, if the Heroes were not quite forgotten, their barrows were neglected, and those by Sigéum and Rhœtéum again become such as they were left on the departure of the Greek army from before Troy, solitary objects by the sea-shore.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

INVASION OF THE TROIA AND CHERSONESUS BY THE TURKS.

I. Abydos betrayed. — II. They surprize Choirodocastron.

I. THE Turks, having extended their conquests in Asia to the shores of the Hellespont under Orchan, attacked Abydos. The Greek, who commanded there, made a brave defence, but was betrayed by his daughter. Enamoured with the person and valour of one of the assailants¹, whom she had beheld from the wall, she threw a letter over the battlements, promising, if, the army being first withdrawn, he would return at the head of a select party in the night, she would admit him into the town. The garrison, on the supposed departure of the enemy, indulged in festivity; and the governor was surprised in his bed². Orchan came to Abydos; and the Hellespont did not long continue the boundary of the Turkish Empire.

¹ Abdurachman.

² Sandys's Travels, p. 20.

II. It is related in the annals of this people¹, that Soliman, son of Orchan, taking an airing on horseback in the country lately conquered, came to some fine ruins of edifices, which had remained there from the time of the destruction of Troy, and which he beheld with wonder; I suppose to the reliques of Alexandréa Troas, or rather of Ilium. After viewing this desolate city, he was observed to remain musing and silent. On being asked the reason, he answered, that he was considering how the sea between them and the opposite coast could be crossed without the knowledge of the Christians. Two of his retinue offered to pass over privately at the Strait, which is described as a Greek mile wide. A float was provided, they landed before day-break, and laid concealed among vines, until, a Greek coming by, they seized and returned with him to the Emperor; who gave orders that their captive should be kindly treated, and, on his undertaking to serve as a guide to the castle erected by Justinian above Sestos², caused trees to be cut down, and a large raft to be constructed; on which, with about fourscore men, Soliman crossed the Strait; and arriving, under colour of the night, at the fortress, found, without the entrance, such was the supine negligence and security of the Greeks, a dung-hill as high as the wall. His soldiers mounted over it, and easily got possession of the place; the people, a few excepted, being engaged abroad in harvest-work. Thus did the Turks obtain their first footing in Europe,

¹ Leuenclavins, p. 314.

² Choirodocastron, called by the Turks, Zemenic-hissar.

in 1357. The levity and folly of the Greeks was apparent in their jesting on the loss of this strong-hold, and proving, by quibbling on the name, that the Turks had only taken from them a Hog-stie. But the taking of this Hog-stie soon led to that of Madytos, which was a populous place, of Callipolis, and of a large portion of Europe, besides the Chersonesus.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE STRAIT OF THE HELLESPONT.

- I. *Importance of its command under Mahomet the first.*—
 II. *Under Amurath the second.*—III. *Under Mahomet the second.*

I. **W**HILE the Greeks yet continued in possession of their capital, and the Turks were employed in enlarging and settling their dominions in Europe and Asia, the command of the passage of the Strait of the Hellespont was an object of great importance both to the Infidels and Christians.

Mahomet the first, when at war with his brother Musa, who held the portion of the Turkish Empire in Europe to which the Chersonesus of Thrace, with Callipolis, belonged, not being able to cross the Hellespont to invade him from Asia, was repeatedly compelled to covenant with the Greek Emperor Emmanuel for the

the transportation of his army, to and fro, at the Strait of the Bosphorus above Constantinople ; where he obtained permission afterwards ¹ to erect a fortress on the side of Asia with a small town in it ².

II. Amurath the second, advancing from Magnesia by Mount Sipylus to assist his son Mahomet the second, who resided at Adrianople in Europe and was attacked by the king of the Hungarians, found, on his arrival at the Hellespont, that the gallies of the Christian powers were stationed at Callipolis to prevent a junction of their armies. He was reduced almost to despair, and marched away to the Strait above Constantinople, and there effected a passage in skiffs ; but the difficulty and danger which he had encountered made so foreible an impression on his mind that he bound himself by a solemn oath to secure in future the communication between the two continents by building a fortress in Europe opposite to that already provided by his father in Asia ; but he did not live to execute his design.

III. Mahomet the second, returning from an expedition into Asia, found likewise, when he came to the Hellespont, the Strait there guarded by a Christian fleet, and was forced to pursue the same rout as Mahomet the first and Amurath had done ; but, after passing at the Bosphorus, he commenced immediately preparations for the fatal work planned by his father ; and, to insure expedition in the execution of it, attended its progress in person.

¹ In 1414.

² Ducas Hist. Byzant. p. 133. Knolles, History of the Turks.

The castle or town was begun on the twenty-sixth of March, 1452, and finished in a few months. He placed in one of the towers brass guns¹, which discharged stone-balls of above six hundred pounds in weight². Meanwhile the Greek Emperor supplicated and remonstrated to no purpose. This fortress was much too near to Constantinople, which was besieged and taken in July, in the following year, 1453.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

I. Of a letter from Mahomet the second to the Pope.—II. Of the Castles of the Strait of the Hellespont.—III. Of the Castles at the Mouth.

I. **MAHOMET** the second, was less ignorant and more silly than I should suppose, if indeed he wrote to Pope Pius the second, as he is said to have done; “I wonder that the Italians should bandy against me, seeing we have one common original from the Trojans, and that I have an interest, as well as they, to revenge the blood of Hector on the Greeks, whom they favour against me³.”

¹ Χαρας.

² Mahomet ordered that it should be called Basc-kesen, in Greek κεφαλονητης, *Basc caput. kesen* scindens. Ducas, c. 34. His history was published in 1649. He was sent on an embassy by the princes of Lesbos to the Conqueror of Constantinople.

³ Bayle in *Acarnania*. He cites Montagne's *Essays*.

II. It was this Emperor, who, after providing *Cut-throat* castle on the Propontis, having felt the importance of the Strait of the Hellespont, constructed a small town in Asia toward Madytos, “where sailing in, says my Author², is the narrowest part of the Hellespont;” and another small town in Europe, opposite to that in Asia; for the security of Byzantium and the Euxine sea, and for the protection of the cities on the Hellespont, which supplied him with no inconsiderable navy. He placed in both these little towns about thirty cannon³ of the largest size, with not a few others; and having made that on the Asiatic side a naval station⁴, no vessel was permitted to proceed toward the Hellespont without stopping that all on board might appear before the Governor; precautions, which were taken, the historian⁵ relates, on account of the war in which he was about to engage with the Venetians, the freedom of whose commerce was much impeded both by his barriers and ordinances. Abydos, abandoned or destroyed by the Turks lying desolate, as well as Sestos, those antient cities were succeeded in some degree of their importance, as in some of the advantages of their situation at the entrance of the Hellespont from the Propontis, by these castles; to which the name *Dardanelli*, since continued and in general use among the Europeans, is said to have been given by the Italian sailors then frequenting those seas.

¹ Λαίμεκοπιν.

² Chalcocondylas, Hist. l. viii. p. 201.

³ Τηλιβολες.

⁴ Ναυστάθμον.

⁵ Chalcocondylas, Hist. l. x. p. 282.

III. In the war of Candia the Venetians got possession of Tenedos, but the city was retaken by the Turks, who bribed the Governor with a large sum of money¹. Near this island the Turkish Armada was defeated in a famous sea-fight, in 1659. The then Emperor Mahomet the fourth, erected two castles at the entrance of the Hellespont from the Ægæan sea²; and these are commonly called *The New*, as the others are *The Old*, Castles of Romelia and Natolia, or of Europe and Asia.

CONCLUSION.

MANY of the antient names of the places within our limits had fallen into disuse or oblivion, were changed through superstition, or disguised by a corrupt pronuntiation, long before the arrival of the Turks, who have not contributed to their restoration or elucidation.

Neither a state of slavery nor a Turkish government is calculated to improve the population or promote the prosperity of a country. These districts are still, as in the decline of the Roman empire, thinly inhabited, and by a people groaning, especially the Greeks, under the misery of oppression.

If we reflect on the ravages formerly committed on the borders of the Hellespont, and on the destruction of the cities there, we shall not be surprised that the coasts are desolate, and that the in-

¹ Wheeler's Travels, p. 64.

² D'Anville, Acad. Insc. t. 28, p. 329.

terior country of the Troas, returned nearly to its more antient state, is occupied almost entirely by villagers, herdsmen, and shepherds; who are no longer distinguished by the appellation of Iliéans, Dardanians, Scepsians, Cébrenians, and so on; but as Greeks, and Turks, or Turcomans, slaves, the masters, and their dependents.

The antient places which we have noticed, and of which few remain or have possessed any consequence under the Turks, have all of them, especially those by the sea-side, been ransacked and plundered of their materials for a long series of years. Constantinople has been adorned or enlarged from their stores, as well under the Roman and the Greek, as the Mahometan, emperors. Towns and villages, which have risen in their vicinity, public baths, mosques, castles, and other edifices have been constructed from their reliques; and the Turkish burying-grounds, which are often very extensive, are commonly rich in broken pillars and marble fragments once belonging to them.

The Tröia had been left in ruins, and was a desert, in the time of Strabo¹. Since, in many instances, *the very ruins have perished*; but the desert remains, and, as then, still affords much, and that no vulgar, matter for a Writer.

¹ P. 581.

E N D.





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